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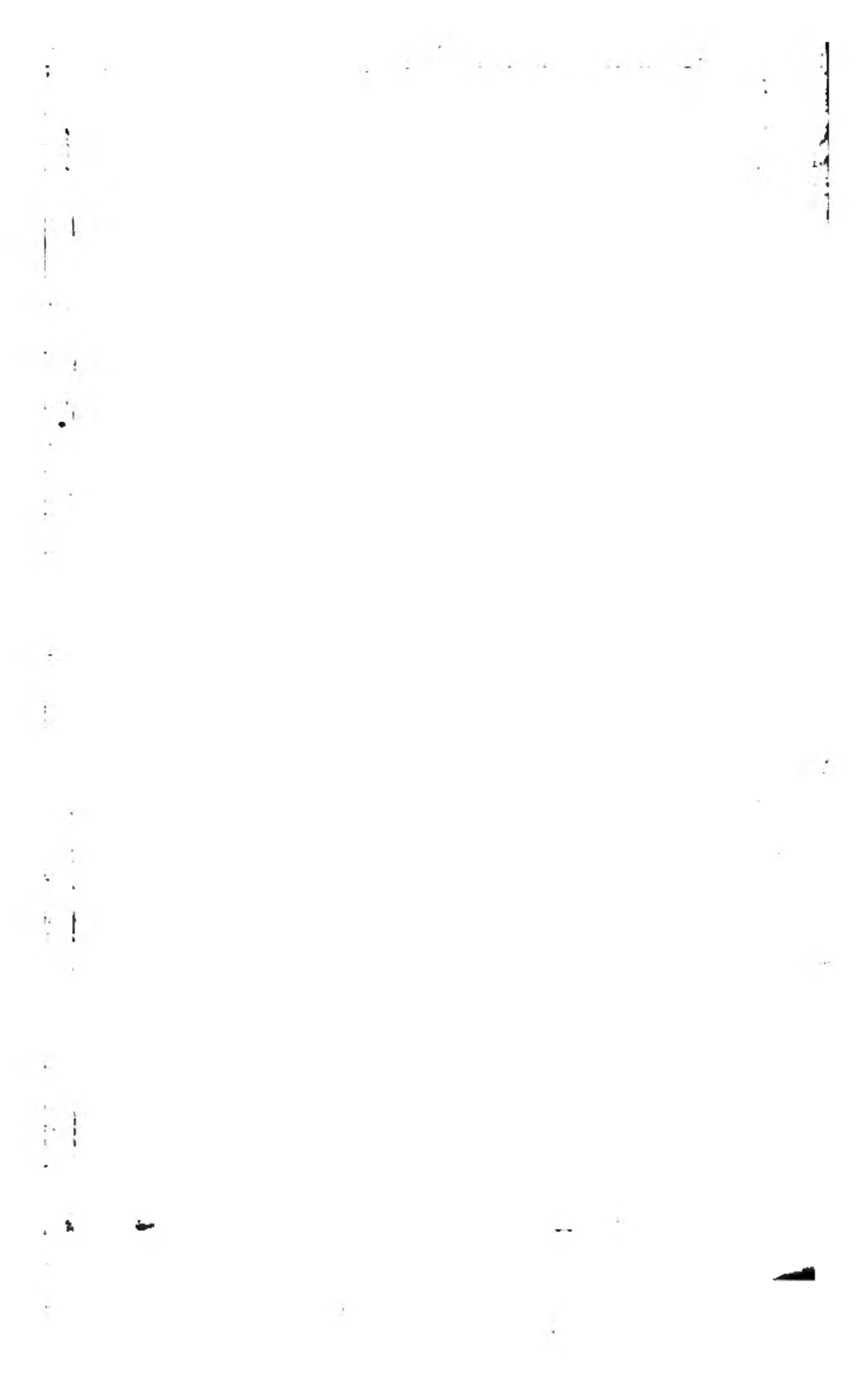


Hostis erat CÆSAR, Vindex NASSOVIUS Heros

Est Libertatis: Quidni Sit ille Minor?

Part. 1.

p: 1.



THE
HISTORY
OF KING
WILLIAM

The THIRD.

Abel Boyer

In III Parts.

Τοῦτ' εἰ μαι ὁ συγγραφεὺς ἐστὶ ἀρετῶν, ἀδύνατος, ἐλπί-
δος, παρρησίας καὶ ἀληθείας φίλος.

Talis mihi Historicus esto, ut metu careat, muneribus
non corrumpatur, liber sit, dicendi verum libertatem
amet.

Lucianus de Conscribendâ Historiâ.

L O N D O N:

Printed for *A. Roper*, at the *Black Boy* in *Fleet-
street*; and *F. Coggan*, in the *Middle Temple
Lane*, 1702.

TO THE
QUEEN.

MADAM,

A Midst the Joyful Multitudes
that crowd Your Palace, to
Congratulate Your MA-
JESTY's auspicious Accession to
the Throne of Your Glorious An-
cestors, *HISTORY*, Madam, makes
bold to approach Your Sacred Per-
son, and to lay at Your Feet the
*LIFE and REIGN of King William
the Third*: A Prince, whose Heroical
Actions have fill'd the World with
Admiration, and whose Memory will
ever live in the Records of Fame.

A 2

The

12-12-33
Reclan. MVP

The Dedication.

The sudden Death of that great Man, struck a general Consternation among those who look'd upon him, as the only Support of the Liberties of *Europe*, against the Growing Power of *France* : But such as had fix'd their View upon Your Majesty, a long time before Your Exaltation, were already fenc'd against that Accident, being secure of an infallible Resource, in an Exigency which to others seem'd Desperate.

Your Majesty was no sooner plac'd on the Throne, but You have made Good those great Expectations : Your first Speech to Your Council has settled a perfect Tranquillity throughout all Your Dominions ; and Your Voice has given fresh Vigor to the Resolutions of Your Parliament, as that of Your Ambassador has recover'd the fainting Spirits of Your Allies.

By

The Dedication.

By these Masterly Beginnings of Your Majesty's Reign, all the World is convinc'd, that You had a Title to the Crown, even in Nature and Superior Merit, before You wore it: And this History will inform them, that when Your Majesty yielded that Right, which was inseparable from Your Person, 'twas a Sacrifice You made to the Liberties of Your Country, and to the Establish'd Church, whose Welfare You generously prefer'd to the Powerful Allurements of a Diadem.

This Sacrifice, as it is the greatest that a Christian Princess can make, so it is now Recompens'd by the choicest Blessings that Heaven can bestow on a Lawful Sovereign: The Love and Union of Your Subjects. All former Jealousies are remov'd, all Fears dispell'd, all Divisions reconcil'd, since an *English Protestant Queen* fills the *English Throne*.

The Dedication.

The fatal Cause of *Popular Discontents*, during the preceding Reigns, has chiefly been the Choice of Suspected, or Self-Interested Ministers: And so far Your Majesty is secur'd against all manner of Disaffection in Your People, since the Persons You admit to Your Confidence, and on whom You recline Part of the Weight of Affairs, are such, as, in the most difficult Times, have signaliz'd their Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of *England*, and whose Valour, Experience and Capacity, set them above Competition.

The Unanimous Concurrence of Your Parliament, in Enabling Your Majesty to maintain the Dignity of the Crown, and to hold the Balance of *Europe*, are certain Pledges of the future Glories of Your Reign: And which of Your Subjects will not chearfully Contribute towards the Publick Necessities, when

The Dedication.

when their Sovereign, by a Bounty as much above Praise, as it is without Precedent, Assesses Herself at a Hundred Thousand Pounds.

One thing more will certainly distinguish Your Majesty's happy Government, and transmit Your Name to the Admiration of After-Ages; and that is, the generous Support all *Liberal SCIENCES* will find in Your Majesty. The late Reign was altogether a Reign of Iron and Tumult, wherein scarce any but Soldiers were regarded. But now *Merit*, in all Capacities, Ecclesiastical and Civil, will be more maturely weigh'd and consider'd; and even *History, Poetry, Painting, Musick, Architecture*, and all the Entertaining and Useful Train of Peaceful Arts, will exert themselves in favour of a QUEEN, who has a true Taste of all Performances of *Wit and Industry*, and who loves to Encourage Both.

The Dedication.

That Your MAJESTY's Reign
may be as Long, as 'twill be Glo-
rious, and that You may leave a
Lineal Successor to Inherit Your
Royal Virtues, is the most ardent
Wish of,

May it please Your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most faithful,
most Obedient, and
most Devoted Servant

THE

THE PREFACE.

I Shall not Amuse the Reader with Extolling the Usefulness of History; nor tell him how much the Knowledge of Things past is Beneficial and Delightful: This Common-Place has been already exhausted; and to endeavour to perswade People of what they are fully convinc'd, is altogether impertinent.

Neither is it proper for me to enumerate the Qualifications which Tully, Lucian, Quintilian, Rapin and Le-Moine, require in an Historian; since it were either Folly in me to pretend to be Master of them all, or Presumption to write without claiming some of them. And when all is done, let an Author speak well, or indifferently, of himself, the World will still trust to their own Judgment alone, in the Censure of his Performance.

The Preface.

It were likewise superfluous to excite the Curiosity of the Reader, by laying before him the importance of the subject Matter of this Work: Every Body must needs expect, with impatience, the History of a Prince, who, for these thirty Years past, has been a Constant Check to the Formidable Power of France, and who has fill'd this Western Part of the World with Terror and Amazement.

So great an Object, as it naturally bespeaks the Attention of our Age; so it is like to employ the Pencils both of this, and other Nations, in order to Transmit it to the View and Contemplation of Posterity. But as all Painters differ, both in their Manner of Drawing, and in the Laying of their Colours; so Authors generally Vary, not only in their Stile and Way of Writing, but also in the Accounts They give of Things,

Some Writers barely relate the Actions of Men, without speaking of their Motives, and, like Gazeteers, are contented to acquaint us with Matter of Fact, without Tracing it to its Spring and Cause; others, on the contrary, are so full of Politicks and Finesse, that they find Cunning and Design in the most natural and innocent Actions. Some, to make their Court to the Powerful, debase the Dignity of History, by Cringing and Adulation; whilst others to serve a Party, or Faction, or meerly to gratify their ill-nature

The Preface.

nature, rake up all the scandal of Men's Lives, give a malicious Turn to every Thing, and Libel every Body, even without Respecting the Sacred Majesty of Princes. Another sort moralize upon every petty Accident, and seem to set up for Philosophers, instead of Historians. And lastly, others are Peremptory in their Decisions, and impose on the World, their Conjectures for real Truths.

These Faults I have endeavour'd to avoid. When I relate Matters of Fact, I deduce them, as far as my Informations permit me, from their true Causes, without making Men more Politick, or Subtle, than Nature has made them. I commend what, in Conscience I believe, deserves to be commended, without any Prospect of Favour, or private Interest; and I censure what I think deserves to be blam'd, with the Liberty that becomes a Faithful unprejudic'd Historian, tho' with due Regard to Persons, whose Birth, Dignity and Character command the Respects, even of those who disapprove their Actions. I am sparing of Reflections, unless it be upon those remarkable Events from which they naturally result; and I never Bias the Reader's Judgment, by any Conjectural Impositions of my own.

Yet after all these Precautions, I am not so vain as to expect to please All: For how were it possible to gain the general Approbation,

The Preface.

tion, when People differ so much in Opinion about the Prince, whose History I have attempted to Write? Some Esteem the late King to have been a Tutelar Angel, appointed by Providence to Support the Protestant Religion, and Assert the Liberties of Europe; and with almost the same Veneration which is only due to the Deity, extol every Action of his Life: Whereas others look upon him as an Ambitious Prince, who has had the Cunning to raise and foment Popular Discontents, and has attain'd Sovereignty by seeming to decline it, and by pretending to redress those very Grievances, he had, in some measure occasion'd. Nay, a Prince who aim'd at making himself an Absolute Monarch, in order to destroy Monarchy, and who by Tolerating all Religions, intended to over-turn the Establish'd Church.

These different Thoughts, which People entertain of King William, cannot but render my Undertaking extreamly arduous and difficult, An insatuated, Whiggish Republican, or a virulent Non-juror, would, I confess, find no manner of difficulty in Writing either a fulsome Panegyrick, or a Scandalous Satyr, upon this Occasion; and many such the World may reasonably expect to see, e're it be long. But an Historian, who embraces no Party, but that of Impartiality (if I may so speak without a Point) who loves Truth, and looks upon it as the most eminent Attribute of God Almighty, and therefore pays it a
Kind

The Preface.

Kind of Adoration, such an Historian, I say, cannot but be very much embarrass'd, when he relates it to People almost invincibly prepossess'd against it.

Notwithstanding these Difficulties, I have attempted to Write the nicest Part of the English History, wherein I have endeavour'd to find out Truth, and made bold to speak it, without any other Design than to do Justice to whomsoever it is due.

It is confest on all hands, even by the worst of King William's Enemies, that He was the greatest Politician, as well as the greatest Commander of his Time; undaunted in the most imminent Dangers; firm and steady in his Resolutions; neither elevated with Prosperity, nor dejected by Adverse Fortune: In a word, that he was Master of the chief Virtues which make up the Character of a Heroe. That he had Ambitious and aspiring Thoughts, all the Actions of his Life sufficiently evince: But certainly no Prince ever chose a more plausible and justifiable Pretence for his Ambition, since he aim'd at making himself Great, by freeing Nations from Oppression; and by procuring to all Christians the Liberty of Serving God, according to the Dictates of their Consciences.

*I have divided this Piece of History into three Parts, according to the three Remarkable Periods of the Prince of Orange's Life. The first comprehends all the Time
from*

The Preface.

from his Birth to the Beginning of King James's Reign: The second contains the Reign of that unfortunate Monarch; and the third that of King William.

In the first Part the Reader will see the Prince of Orange, brought out of his Obscurity; Heading the Dutch, and Confederate Armies at one and Twenty Years of Age; Putting a stop to the Torrent of the Conquering Arms of France: Giving Life and Vigor to all the Resolutions and Enterprizes of Germany, Spain and Holland: Holding secret Correspondences with the Discontents of England, both to deprive France of a Powerful Ally, and to Marry a Princess of the Royal Blood, (thereby, to strengthen his Title to the Crown of Great Britain, which he had early in View) and Managing a Treaty of Peace, at the same time that he carries on a vigorous War.

*The Second Part gives the Reader a full and distinct Prospect of King James the Second's Reign, and of the Great Revolution which follow'd upon his Recess. A subject which has hitherto been treated, by the Bouteux of the late Reign, with a great deal of Partiality, Prejudice, and Malice against that unfortunate and deluded Prince. For my own Part, tho' I am far from justifying the irregular Proceedings, or so much as Palliating the Faults of his Government, yet the Force of Truth obliges me to say; That as he was a Kind
Father*

The Preface.

Father, a fond Husband, and a generous Master, so he would have been a Good King, if he had not had ill, designing and jarring Ministers; and if the Fury of a certain Party had not shewn him the Way to unwarrantable Violences, and exasperated his Temper, naturally Debonair. This second Part was entirely finish'd and Printed before the Death of King William, which Circumstance alone is sufficient to confirm my Title to Impartiality.

The Third Part contains King William's Reign, with the Auspicious Beginning of that of our Gracious and Lawful Sovereign Queen ANNE, which I design to carry as far as her Majesty's Coronation. This Part being yet unfinish'd, tho' in great forwardness, I shall say no more of it in this Place.

The Reader, may perhaps expect to know where I had my Materials. Let this satisfy him, that in the First Part, I have made use of De Maurier's Memoirs, the Lives of the Princes of Orange, the Lord Arlington's, and Sir William Temple's Letters and Memoirs: And in the Second and Third, tho' I have not neglected the Assistance of Printed Books; yet, for the most Part, I have had Recourse to Publick and Authentick Records, and consulted Persons of unquestion'd Probity and Honour, who have themselves been concern'd in the Passages I relate. Not to mention my particular Observations,

The Preface.

servations, upon Things of which I have been an Eye-Witness. The Third Part not being yet compleated, as I said before, if any Person will favour me with the Communication of any Memoirs, or Authentick Pieces, relating to King William's Reign, he may be pleas'd to direct them to my Bookseller, and I will endeavour to acknowledge the Obligation, as far as the Sincerity and Candor of History will permit.

ERRATA.

Page 27. l. 8. and p. 28. l. 4. for Naerden, read Woerden.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF
King *WILLIAM III.*

PART I.

*Comprehending the time from his Birth, to
the Beginning of King James II. Reign.*

THE House of Nassau, is without Dis-Considera-
pute one of the most considerable in bleness of
all Germany; whether we consider the the House
Ancientness of its Extraction, the Mul- of Nassau.
tiplicity of its Noble Branches, or the
Grandeur of its Potent Alliances. Some Histori- Antiquity
ans deduce the Antiquity of the Name of Nassau, of its Name
from one * Nasua, who, according to Julius Caesar, * Caesar's
with his Brother Cimbrius, led a Body of Ger- Comm.
mans out of Suabia, and settled upon the Banks of Lib. 1.
the Rhine, near Trier. This is the more Wor-
thy Observation, in that besides the Affinity of the
Names, which only differ in the Transposition of
a Letter, there is an Estate upon that very spot
of Ground mentioned by Caesar, which belongs to
the Nassovian Family to this Day. But without
having Recourse to a dubious Derivation, it suf-
fices

A. C. likes to say that this Illustrious House has been established by an undeniable and uninterrupted Succession of Ten entire Centuries, and that it had the Honour about Four Hundred Years ago, to be grac'd with the Imperial Dignity in the Person of *Adolphus of Nassau*, Emperor of *Germany*, and Successor to *Rodolphus of Habsburg*.

The Pedigree of the Princes of Orange. See History of William Prince of Orange. To come closer to the Pedigree of him who is the Subject of this History, **OTHO**, Count of *Nassau*, who lived above Six Hundred Year ago, had two Wives, the first of which brought him in Marriage the Country of *Guelderland*, and the other the Province of *Zutphen*, which remain'd for above three Centuries in the Possession of the House of *Nassau*. Afterwards, about Three Hundred Years since, another Count **OTHO** of *Nassau*, married the Countess of *Vianen*, the Heiress and Mistress of several other considerable Territories in the *Low Countries*.

His Grandchild **ENGILBERT**, the first of that Name, Count of *Nassau*, espoused the Heiress of *Loeke* and *Breda* in 1404. and was Grandfather to **ENGILBERT** the Second of *Nassau*. He was a Prince no less experienc'd in War, than in Politicks; he won the Battel of *Ginnegate*, suppress'd the Rebellion of *Bruges*, and was Governor General of the *Low-Countries* for the Emperor *Maximilian I.* He died without Issue, leaving to his Brother **JOHN** of *Nassau* the Inheritance of all his Possessions.

This Count *John* had two Sons, **HENRY** and **WILLIAM**. To his Eldest Son *Henry*, he gave all his Territories in the *Low-Countries*; and to *William* all his Demains in *Germany*. This same *Henry* of *Nassau* it was to whom *Charles V.* was beholden for his Advancement to the Empire, by means of his active and prevailing Solicitations against *Francis I.* of *France*; and who upon the day of the Emperor's Coronation, set the Imperial Crown upon his Head. Nevertheless, after the Peace was concluded between those two Potent Princes, when the Emperor sent him into *France*, to do Homage for the Counties of *Flanders*,

WILLIAM the Third.

3

A. C.

ders and Artois, King Francis, out of an unparalleled'd Generosity, forgetting what had past, Match'd him to *Claudia de Chalons*, the only Sister of *Philibert de Chalons*, Prince of Orange, and who had been bred up under Queen Anne of Bretagne, her Mother in-Law. By Virtue of which Marriage, his only Son *Reneus* of Nassau and Chalons, came to be Prince of Orange, after the Decease of his Uncle by the Mother's side, who died without Issue.

WILLIAM Count of Nassau, Brother to Count Henry, embrac'd the Reformation, and expell'd the Roman Catholick Religion out of his Dominions in Germany. He had Five Sons and Seven Daughters by *Juliana*, Countess of Stolburg. His eldest Son was the *GREAT WILLIAM* of Nassau, who attain'd to be Prince of Orange, and Lord of all the Possessions of the House of Chalons, by the Last Will and Testament of *Reneus de Nassau*, his Cousin German, who was killed at the Siege of *St. Disier*, and left no Children behind him. The youngest was *John* of Nassau, who left behind him a numerous Posterity. His three other Sons were *Lodowick*, *Adolphus*, and *Henry* of Nassau, who signaliz'd themselves as well in the Civil Wars of France, as of the Low Countries, and who having never been Married, all three died in the Field, generously Fighting for the Liberty of their Country, and seconding the noble Designs of their Eldest Brother: As for the Seven Daughters of *William* Count of Nassau, they were Married the one to the Count of *Bergues*, and the other Six to Sovereign Counts of Germany.

WILLIAM of Nassau, Prince of Orange, was taken away from his Father by *Charles V.* and deliver'd to that Emperor's own Sister *Mary*, Queen of Hungary, to be bred up in the Roman Religion; which he therefore profess'd, in outward appearance, so long as *Charles V.* liv'd; and for some time after during the first Years of King *Philip's* Reign. Assoon as his Age permitted *Charles V.* made him Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, in

*William
of Nassau
Prince of
Orange,
Born in*

A. C. which Station he continued Nine Years, always near the Emperor's Person, who all along admired the Excellency of his Wit, accompanied with an extraordinary Modesty; and who confest to his most intimate Favourites, that the Young Prince would often furnish him with Notions and Hints, which otherwise he never should have thought of. And to shew what Opinion he had of his Courage and Conduct, the Emperor (in the absence of *Philibert Emanuel*, Duke of *Anjou*, General of his Armies, advanc'd him to the place of *Generalissimo*, preferably to Count *d'Egmont*, who was Twelve Years his Senior, the Prince of *Orange* being then but Twenty Two Years of Age. These Marks of the Emperor's Confidence and Favour, were the Occasion of his glorious Misfortunes. For tho' the Emperor upon his abdicating the Empire, had particularly recommended him to King *Philip* his Son, yet the *Spaniards* who Govern'd him, bearing a mortal Envy to the constant Prosperity of the Young Prince, by their continual Calumnies and Accusations, rendr'd him so suspected to King *Philip*, that when His Majesty was at *Flushing* ready to Embark for *Spain*, with a Countenance full of Indignation, he upbraided him for having hindred the States from complying with his Demands by his private Cabals. This publick Reproach made so deep an Impression in the Mind of the Prince, that he afterwards openly asserted the Liberties of the *Netherlands*, in Conjunction with Count *d'Egmont*, and Count *Horn*; He raised several Armies both in *France* and *Germany*, which tho' often defeated, or disbanded for want of Pay, yet he still return'd into the Field with greater Force, till he had laid the Foundation of the Commonwealth of the *United Provinces*. He was unhappily Assassinated at *Delft* the 51st Year of his Age, by one *Balthasar de Guerard*, a Gentleman of the *Franche Comté*, with a Pistol loaded with three Bullets. His Motto was *Sævis Tranquillus in Undis*, intimating the composedness of his Soul, amidst the

WILLIAM the Third.

the greatest Storms and Dangers, to which he was expos'd.

5
A. C.
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This Prince made more noise in the World than all the Crown'd Heads of his Time put together, and left behind him a renowned Posterity, who pursuing his Glorious Example have amaz'd all *Christendom* by their Immortal Actions. He had four Wives, of which the first was *Anne d' Egmont*, Daughter to *Maximilian d' Egmont* Count of *Buren* and *Leerdam*, a great Heiress, whom he Married by the favour of *Charles V.* and had by her **PHILIP WILLIAM** Prince of *Orange*, and a Daughter nam'd *Mary de Nassau*, who was Married to *Philip* Count *de Hobenlo*, commonly call'd *de Holac*, a great General.

His Second Wife was *Anne* of *Saxony*, Daughter to the Great *Maurice* Elector of *Saxony*, by whom he had the Famous Count **MAURICE**, and a Daughter Nam'd *Emilia de Nassau*, Married to *Emanuel*, Son of *Anthony*, King of *Portugal*.

His Third Wife was *Charlotte de Bourbon*, of the House of *Montpensier*, who had been a Nun, and by whom he had Six Daughters. 1. *Louise Julienne de Nassau*, Married to *Frederick IV.* Elector Palatine, Father to *Frederick V.* Elected King of *Bohemia*, who Married the Princess *Elizabeth*, Sister to *Charles I.* King of *England*; by whom amongst other Children he had the Princess *Sophia*, now Dutches of *Hannover*. 2. *Elizabeth de Nassau*, Wife to *Henry de la Tour*, Duke *de Bouillon*, a Famous General in the Wars of *Henry IV.* of *France*. 3. *Catherine Belgique*, or *Catherina Belgica*, Married to *Philip Lewis* Count of *Hanau*. 4. *Charlotte Brabantine*, or *Charlotta Brabantina*, Wife to *Claude*, Duke *de la Trimouille* and *de Thouars*, and Count *de la val*. 5. *Charlotte Flandrine* (or *Charlotta Flandrina*) *de Nassau*, who turn'd Roman Catholick, and died Abbess of *St. Croix* in *Poitiers*. 6. *Emilia de Nassau*, Married to *Frederick Casimir*, a Branch of the House of *Deux-Ponts*, call'd Duke of *Lansberg*. This is the Illustrious and great Posterity of that Fruitful Nun.

A. C.

His Fourth and last Wife was *Louise de Coligny*, the Relict of *Monsieur de Teligny*; and Daughter of the Great Admiral *de Chastillon*, by whom he had only one Son, the Famous *HENRY FREDERICK*, Prince of *Orange*.

*PHILIP WILLIAM* of *Nassau*, Prince of *Orange*, was a Prince of excellent Natural Parts; but being carried into *Spain* at 13 Years of Age, where he was a close Prisoner, and debarr'd the benefit of all manner of Education, he retain'd the *Roman* Catholick Religion. After a tedious Imprisonment King *Philip* restor'd him to all his Demains in the *Spanish* Low-Countries, and in *Franche-Comté*; but the States of the United Provinces conceiv'd such a distrust of him, that they would not suffer him so much as to visit (much less to reside in) their Provinces. He Married *Eleonor de Bourbon*, Sister to the Prince of *Conde*, but had no Children by her. After his Death, which happen'd in 1628. Count *Maurice* his Brother took upon him the Quality of Prince of *Orange*, and inherited his whole Estate, whereas before he was contended with the bare Title of Count.

Prince  
Maurice.  
See De  
Maurier  
History of  
Princes of  
Orange.

*MAURICE* of *Nassau*, Prince of *Orange*, not only equal'd his Father in his Prudence and Greatness of Soul, but even surpass'd him in Martial Performances. For from the Year 1584. when he came first into Action, to 1625. when he died, Prince *Maurice* was never mention'd without Admiration and Astonishment. He took for the Body of his Device the Trunk of a Tree, cut off so as to seem about two Foot high, from whence there grew a Vigorous Sprout; with this Motto, *Tandem fit surculos Arbor, At last the Sprout becomes a Tree*: To show that he would revive the Glories of his Father. He took 39 or 40 Towns, and more Fortresses; defeated the *Spaniards* in open Field at three Signal Battles, and obtain'd several great Victories at Sea, as well upon the Coast of *Flanders*, as upon that of *Spain*, and the *Indies*, by the Valour of his Lieutenants and Vice-Admirals. The great Differences which happen'd between him and *Barnevelt* (upon account of a Truce offer'd

fee'd by the Spaniard, which Barnevelt was for accepting) went near to overturn the Commonwealth of *Holland*, by an intestine Division that ended in the Death of Barnevelt. This Execution sullied the great Character of Prince Maurice in the Opinion of some Persons; for 'twas thro' Barnevelt's Interest, (who had been one of the Principal Ministers and Confidants of Prince William) that Prince Maurice obtain'd the Sovereign Command both by Sea and Land, immediately after his Father's Death. This Prince was never Married, but had several Natural Children, the most Considerable of whom was Monsieur de Beververt, a Noble Man of great Courage, and well Accomplish'd. He died in 1525. when the Marquis of Spinola Besieg'd Breda; and as some pretended for Grief, because he could not relieve that Place; or as others said, because he could not make himself Sovereign.

HENRY FREDERICK of Nassau, Prince of Orange, Born in 1584. was one of the most Renowned Captains of his Time, and no way inferior in Fame and Military Achievements to his Brother Maurice. He took several Important Places from the Spaniards, and by his Vice-Admirals defeated their Fleets at Sea; for which great Services the States General conferr'd the Survivorship of all his Dignities and Employments on his Son William. Thus William I. Prince of Orange laid the Foundation of the Powerful Republick of *Holland*; his Eldest Son Maurice fix'd and establish'd those Foundations by his Victories, and Henry Frederick the Younger Brother, by the Continuation of their Conquests, at length forc'd the Spaniards to renounce their pretended claim to the United Provinces, and to acknowledge them as a Free State. Prince Henry Frederick's Motto was *Patrique Patrique*, intimating thereby, that he thought of nothing but Saving his Country, and Revenging the Death of his Father. By the Advice of Prince Maurice, when he drew towards his End, he Married Emilia de Solms, Daughter to John Albert Count of Solms, who came with the Queen of Bohemia into *Holland*.

**A. C.** *Holland*, and was a Lady of surpassing Beauty, and graceful Behaviour, accompanied with no less Modesty and Prudence. By her he had one Son and four Daughters, of which the Eldest *Louise* was Married to *Frederick William* Elector of *Brandenburg*. The 2d. *Henrietta Emilia* to the Count of *Nassau*. The 3d. *Henrietta Catherina* to *John George* Prince of *Anhalt*; and the 4th to the Duke of *Simeren*. He died in 1647. leaving behind him his Son,

**Prince William.** *WILLIAM* of *Nassau*, Prince of *Orange*, was naturally Ambitious, and of great Courage, so that his Enemies reported of him, That tho' he was Young, yet he aim'd at the Execution of that design which had been laid to Prince *Maurice's* Charge by *Barnevelt* and his Adherents. In 1641. he Married *Mary Stuart*, Eldest Daughter to *Charles I.* King of *Great Britain*, by *Madam Henrietta* of *France*; an Illustrious Birth, Interest of State and Glory, the three ordinary Motives which sway Princes in the choice of their Alliances, concurring together in the making this Match. The Proposals were no sooner made, but they were accepted, and the Marriage was Celebrated at *London* with great Magnificence. From this Marriage was Born *William Henry* Prince of *Orange*, and King of *Great Britain*. Prince *William* was Born in 1626. and died in the 24th Year of his Age; on the \*6th of *November* 1650. being seiz'd with a violent Small Pox, after his unsuccessful Attempt upon *Amsterdam*. His sudden Death chang'd the whole Face of Affairs in the Low Countries, for he had great Prospects from his Alliance with *England*.

**William Henry Prince of Orange Born Nov. 14. N. S. 1650.** The untimely and unexpected Death of *William II.* threw the Court and Friends of the Family of *Nassau* into such a Consternation, as is easier to be imagin'd than express'd. But to moderate their just Affliction, the Princess Royal, within eight Days after, though but seven Months gone with Child, was happily deliver'd of *WILLIAM HENRY*; a Prince who afterwards prov'd the Restorer of that Flourishing State, whereof his Illustrious Ancestors were the Architects and Founders.


*Henrietta  
maria*

ders. He was Born on the 14th of November, A. C. 1650. and had for his God-Fathers, the States of *Holland and Zealand*, and the Cities of *Delft, Leyden* and *Amsterdam*.

As it was his Misfortune to come into the World at a Juncture when his Enemies were furnish'd with a fair Pretence to deprive him of those Dignities which his Ancestors had enjoy'd; so the States General finding themselves now at Liberty by the Death of *William II.* and concluding from the late Design upon *Amsterdam* what they might expect from a single Governour, or Stadt-holder, resolv'd to obviate all Inconveniencies that might for the future happen upon this Occasion, and so appointed a General Assembly to meet at the *Hague*. In the first \* Session of this Assembly it was resolv'd: *That since the Country was now without a Governour, by the Death of the Prince, the Choice of all Officers and Magistrates for the time to come, should be in the Disposal of the Cities; and that not only the ordinary Soldiers, but even the Guards of the Deceased Prince should take an Oath of Fidelity to the States of Holland.* *He is depriv'd of his Predecessors Dignities.* \* Jan. 18. 1651.

This fatal Resolution was unanimously carried, notwithstanding all the Representations made by the Princess his Mother, who ineffectually endeavour'd to preserve him in those great Employments, which the States themselves had made *Hereditary* in his Family. The Royal Family of *Great Britain*, from whom principally she could expect any Assistance, being at that time under an Eclipse, through the Trayterous Cabals of those execrable Parricides, who after they had barbarously Murther'd *Charles I.* by a Train of Hypocrisie, and other Villanies, shar'd his Sovereignty among themselves, and Persecuted his Sons in those very Places where they had taken Sanctuary.

Prince *William Henry* from his Childhood discover'd the passionate Desire he had to follow the glorious steps of his Predecessors: And \* indeed tho' Nature does seldom produce great Men in the same Family and Succession, yet the great Actions of the Fathers are powerful incentives to stir up their Children to imitate them; the Glory of their *His Noble Inclinations.* \* De Maurier's Reflection.

**A. C.**  their Ancestors being a Light, which directs their Posterity to March in those Generous Paths which they have trod before them; and if the Virtue of Strangers has often prompted some Courageous Souls to Noble Enterprizes, (as that *Greek* whose Rest was discompos'd by the Trumpets of *Milesides*;) sure Domestick Examples must be much more prevailing, that they may not incur the Shame of having degenerated.

† See Mr. St. Evre-  
mont Es-  
says. 1st.  
Part.

His Suffer-  
ings.

His unfor-  
tunate E-  
ducation.

The two distinguishing Qualities of our Young Prince were his *Reservedness* and *Moderation*. His Prudence encreas'd as he grew up, and such People as were nice Observers of Merit, and took great Notice of him have affirm'd, That never Prince gave greater Hopes than he, even in his most tender Years. Among the rest the Famous Mr. St. Evremont, then an Exile in *Holland*, speaks thus of him in a † Letter wherein he gives an Account of the *Hague* to a Friend in *Paris*:  
*We go now and then to make our Court to the Young Prince, who shall have Reason to Complain of me, for telling you only, that a Person of his Age and Quality was never Master of so good a turn of Wit.*

Our Prince, who like *Hercules* was to Encounter Snakes in his Cradle, suffer'd a great deal from the Intrigues and Contrivances of *Barncock's* Party, now reviv'd, as it were out of its Ashes, in the Persons of the two *De-Wits*. But he bore all with an admirable Temper, still waiting for a favourable Opportunity to be restor'd to his Father's Dignities. Among the many Injuries which his Enemies did him, we may reckon the imposing upon his Highness a Governor intirely devoted to *John de Wit*, Pensioner of *Holland*; and who instead of Cultivating the Excellent Endowments which the Prince had receiv'd from Nature, endeavour'd to break his Generous Spirit; scarce affording him a Tutor that had any Tincture of good Literature, or any tollerable Knowledge of the World. Norwithstanding this unfortunate Education, he Learn'd in his Youth those Parts of the *Mathe- maticks*, which have an immediate Relation with the Military Art; and spoke *English*, *French* and

and High-Dutch, almost as readily and fluently as his Mother-Tongue. A. C.

In the Year 1668, there were some faint steps made by his Britannick Majesty towards the Re-  
 establishment of his Nephew the Prince of Orange; Faint steps made by Charles II. K. of B.  
 for Sir William Temple His Majesty's Ambassador, being at the Hague, to carry on the Negotiations for the Re-  
 in pursuance of the Treaty at Breda, the Triple restoration of the P. of Orange.  
 Alliance, and the Peace of Aix la Chappelle; his Excellency told Monsieur De-Wit in a long Con-  
 ference he had with him, \* "That it was true, Sir W. Temple's Letters.  
 "that there wanted not some amongst the English Vol. 2. P. 12, &c.  
 "that would be so Wise to know, that it was  
 "impossible for England to fall into any firm Con-  
 "fidence with the States upon their present Con-  
 "stitution, nor particularly with him, upon the  
 "Prince of Orange's Occasion; that for his Ex-  
 "cellency's part, he was not at all of that Mind,  
 "that tho' the King could not lose the Affection  
 "he had for his Nephew, yet he was of Opini-  
 "on he could not Express it better than by in-  
 "fusing into him the Belief, That he could make Golden  
 "himself no way so happy as in the Good-Will of the Maxims of  
 "States, and trusting wholly to them in the Course Sir W.  
 "of his Fortunes, and not to Private Factions, or Fo- Temple.  
 "reign Intrigues and Applications. That His Ma-  
 "jesty was of Opinion himself, That Princes were  
 "not apt to do themselves more Hurt, and make them-  
 "selves less, any way than by affecting too much Power, or  
 "such as was directly contrary to the Stomach and  
 "Genius of the Country which fell to their share. That  
 "besides this, he knew His Majesty was so just  
 "and so reasonable, that tho' he should take kind-  
 "ly of the States any Respects they should shew  
 "his Nephew; yet his Excellency did not be-  
 "lieve he would offer that to any other King  
 "or State, which he should not take well that  
 "any other should offer to him, or ever be put  
 "upon any such Designs by his Council, or his  
 "People's Inclinations: For they who look'd upon the  
 "Prince in a possibility of one day to be their King;  
 "and that lov'd a Prince who grounded his Power in  
 "the Affections of his People, and lov'd to Rule by  
 Laws,



A. C.

“ *Laws; had rather perhaps see the Prince of O-*  
 “ *range happy in the Good-Will of the States, and*  
 “ *such Moderate Power as they should think Consistent*  
 “ *with their Government, than of a Humour and Aims*  
 “ *at any thing that might tend to subvert their Civil*  
 “ *Constitutions: So that his Excellency saw nothing*  
 “ *of Danger to them upon this Chapter, either*  
 “ *from the Judgment or Disposition of His Ma-*  
 “ *jesty, or the Humour of the Nation. Monsieur*  
 “ *De-Wit seem'd very much pleas'd with what Sir*  
 “ *William Temple had said on that Subject, both*  
 “ *of the King's Dispositions, and the People's Hu-*  
 “ *mours and Thoughts, especially that of the*  
 “ *King, of doing as he would be done by: He added,*  
 “ *That the States Intentions were, to make the*  
 “ *Prince of Orange Captain General of their Forces,*  
 “ *and Admiral too, tho' it was not mention'd; and*  
 “ *to this purpose they would already have brought*  
 “ *him into the Council of State, in Order to fit*  
 “ *him for those Charges, had it not been for some*  
 “ *of the Provinces that had hindred it, upon Pre-*  
 “ *tence of more kindness to him, and Designing*  
 “ *greater Matters for him. That it was indeed a-*  
 “ *greed those Charges were Inconsistent with that*  
 “ *of Stadtholder, which gave as much Authority*  
 “ *in the Civil, as the others in the Military part*  
 “ *of the Government. That, Considering the smal-*  
 “ *ness of their State, and greatness of their Militia,*  
 “ *there was an end of their Republick when both*  
 “ *was in one Hand. That for his Part, if he had*  
 “ *been Born under a King, he could never have*  
 “ *consented to what his Ancestors did towards*  
 “ *the King of Spain; but being Born under a*  
 “ *Commonwealth, and Sworn to maintain it, he*  
 “ *could Consent to nothing that should destroy it,*  
 “ *and he wondred how it had subsisted so long in*  
 “ *that Danger; which was to be attributed to*  
 “ *their constant Wars abroad, and to the great*  
 “ *Moderation of those Princes, among whom none*  
 “ *had Thoughts of it but the last, Nor would he e-*  
 “ *ver have fallen into them, without having been put*  
 “ *upon them by the French, who had his Breeding and*  
 “ *his Education: That if he had liv'd he would*  
 “ *have*



“ have been the ablest of all the Race. And from A. C. hence fell into Commendations of this Young Prince's Parts and Dispositions: And so this matter ended.

Towards the end of the Year 1669, there hap-  
pen'd a Dispute among the States, which gave our Prince some Hopes of being restor'd: The City of *Amsterdam*, upon account of their Paying half of all that is laid upon the Province of *Holland*, as *Holland* does of all that is Levied on the Seven Provinces, did justly believe they ought, at least in some degree, be consider'd in the Province, as *Holland* is in the State,; which made them use their utmost endeavours to Oppose the Faction of *Leyden*, *Dort*, *Rotterdam*, &c. who under Pensioner *De-Witt's* influence carried all before them in the Elections, both of Civil and Military Officers. In order to favour the Demand of the *Amsterdammers*, there were some Overtures made about creating a new Minister, under the Name of Secretary of State, whose Province should have been to receive the Addreses of Foreign Ministers; which Office was suppos'd to be design'd for Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, a Person well affected to the Prince of *Orange*, who had underhand a great share in all the Councils and Motions of his Town of *Amsterdam*. The Pensioner had too much Penetration not to see into the Consequences of this Project, and too great an Interest not to quash it; but nevertheless Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* stirr'd so much in Favour of the Prince, that the States of *Holland*, after the warmest Debates that had been known among them for many Years, \* Re- \* May solv'd by a Plurality of Voices: That the Prince 1670. should have Session in the Council of State with a decisive Voice; and should have the same Place his Ancestors had formerly had. However, after this was resolv'd on, that Party which the most oppos'd the Prince's interest, started two new Points: The First, That no Captain-General should be chosen otherwise than from Year to Year, but by Unanimity of Voices; and Secondly, That in Case the Prince should be chosen Captain-General for Life

Sir W.  
Temple's  
Letters,  
Vol. 2. P.  
151.

**A. C.** Life, then it should be again Debated and Resolved by Plurality of Voices, whether he should continue his Session in the Council of State. These two Questions were agreed to by all the Towns excepting four or five, in which Number were *Amsterdam* and *Haerlem*, who maintain'd, That they were not to be Resolved till those Matters came in Question.

Sir W.  
Temple's  
Letters,  
Vol. 2. P.  
307.

In the mean time, the Prince of *Orange*, either out of his own Motion, or thro' the Suggestion of the Princess Dowager, form'd the Design of going over to *England*; and was very earnest with Sir *William Temple*, to know whether he was like to procure any Satisfaction in his Pretensions there? Adding industriously, that all his best Friends in *Holland* were of Opinion, that in Case that should wholly fail him, his Journey into *England* would prove of great Prejudice to his Affairs; by letting his Friends see how little he was regarded by His Majesty, whose Countenance would be a great Support to him in the Course of his Fortunes. Sir *William Temple*, told his Highness that he was wholly Ignorant of his Master's Affairs, besides what related to *Holland*; and particularly of the present State of his Revenue, or how much the late Supplies had contributed towards the Ease of it. Upon this his Highness desir'd the *English* Ambassador to touch upon this Point to the Lord *Arlington*, Secretary of State to King *Charles II.* but finding no Encouragement from his Lordship, his Highness put off the the Thoughts of his Journey till towards the Sitting of the Parliament; having assur'd Sir *William Temple*, that he resolv'd to steer by his Master's Advice in the Course of his Affairs and Motions relating to *England*. So that all that Sir *William Temple* pretended to have done in Favour of the Prince, during his first Embassy to the States, was only not to have spoil'd his Business; which it had been the easiest thing in the World for an *English* Minister at the *Hague* to have done. For that great Politician did wisely conclude that the best part the *English* could play, was to seem

no further concern'd in the Affairs of *Holland*, A. C. than their Wishes for the perfect Union of a State, they were so near Allied to; tho' at the same time, he did not fail to insinuate by the by, that such an Union would never be compassed, but by taking in the Prince's interests as far as could consist with the Liberty of the State: And making such a Person of him, as might in Title, Expence and other Circumstances represent the Dignity of their Commonwealth.

About this \* time a violent Humour ran a \* June gainst Monsieur *De-Wit*, in the City of *Amster-* 1670. *dam*, upon Pretence of his growing too far into the Sway of all Affairs by so long a Ministry, and of advancing his own Creatures into Offices and Places of Trust, with too much Industry. "The bottom of this Sir *William Temple* suppos'd to be the same with that of all Popular Humours; that is, a Design in the Leaders to change the Scene, that thereby those who had been long employ'd might make room for those who had been long out. And he was not of Opinion they would succeed to prejudice him suddenly; both because his chief Enemies acknowledg'd his great Abilities, and Usefulness to the State; and because he would always have it in his Power, to fall in very considerably with the Prince's Interest, which the other Party pretend- ed to promote. Tho', he thought in such a Case his Highness would have a hard Choice which Wind to Sail; as indeed he was likely to fall into Conjectures that would require all his Prudence.

These Conjectures of that able Minister were grounded on Solid Reasons; for indeed, Monsieur *De-Wit*'s Interest was so firmly establish'd, that nothing less than the Irruption of the whole *French* Power, was able to shake it. Wherefore it must be confess'd, that *France*, in some Measure, contributed to the Restoration of the Prince of *Orange*, altho' without the least Design to favour him: Providence so ordering it, that that Monarch should savage, and almost destroy this flourishing Re- publick

**A: C.** publick, to make the *Hollanders* sensible of their Ingratitude, by convincing them, that only the Family of the Founders of their Commonwealth, was capable to prevent its total Ruin, and to restore it to its former Grandeur.

**Dover  
Treaty.  
1670.**

King *Charles II.* both by the subtle Negotiation of Monsieur *Colbert*, His Most Christian Majesty's Ambassador, the prevailing insinuations of his *French* Mistress, and the pressing Instances of the Duke of *York*, Sign'd a secret Treaty with *France*, which was afterwards Ratified at *Dover*, at an Interview between his *Britannick* Majesty, and *Madame*, the Dutchess of *Orleans* his Sister,; whom the King of *France* had purposely sent over. King *Charles* was the more easily drawn into this Treaty, in that, besides large Subsidies, the *French* flatter'd him with the ensnaring Hopes of Arbitrariness; a Bait which few Princes are able to reject. Pursuant to this Alliance, the King of *Great Britain* abandon'd the glorious Work he had undertaken of settling the Peace of Christendom, by giving stop to the *French* Career, which was in a fair way to over-run all *Europe*; Sir *William Temple* was recall'd from the *Hague*; the *Triple League*, which that great Minister had taken so much Pains to cement, was suddenly broken; and the Design was laid of making War upon *Holland*, in Conjunction with the *French*.

**Dutch  
War in  
1672.**

As King *Charles* had entred into the Project of this War without the Advice of his Parliament, so His Majesty was oblig'd to carry it on without their Assistance; and to depend upon the Purse of the King of *France* for the fitting out his Navy. Monsieur *Colbert*, to ease his Master of part of that great Charge, advis'd King *Charles* to seize the *Dutch Smyrna*-Fleet, which would Supply him with more Money than the House of Commons was ever like to give him at once. His Majesty approv'd this Overture, and the World was astonish'd at the *English* Declaration of War against *Holland* in 1672; First by Matter of Fact, in falling upon their *Smyrna* Fleet, and in Consequence of that (however it fail'd) by a formal Manifesto,  
in

in which they gave Reasons for their Quarrel; whilst the *French* contented themselves to give no other for their part of it, than only the Glory of their Monarch. The *Dutch* could never be possess'd with a Belief that the *English* were in Earnest, till the Blow was given, but thought His *Britannick* Majesty's Unkindness and Expostulations of late, would end at last either in Demands of Money, or the Prince of *Orange's* Restitution to the Authority of his Predecessors; nor could the Princes concern'd in their Safety, believe that after having sav'd *Flanders* out of the Hands of the *French*, His Majesty would suffer *Holland* to fall into the same Danger. But then the *French* immediately set out their Declaration, and began their Invasion, which was the most successful, as it was the least expected.

'Tis scarce to be imagin'd with what a prodigious Torrent the Victorious Arms of *France* over-ran all the United Provinces. \* Of all the Towns and Fortresses on the *German* side (held impregnable in all their former Wars,) not one, besides *Maestricht* made any shew of Resistance, and the *French* became immediately Masters of all the Inland Places, in as little time as Travellers usually employ to view them. Among the rest, *Utrecht* and *Zutphen* open'd there Gates at the first approach of the Enemy; for altho' there were numerous Garrisons in both these Places, yet being compos'd of Burghers, and commanded by Officers of little or no Experience, they were frighted at the sight of a well Disciplin'd, Courageous Army, headed by a Monarch that knew how to make the best advantage of his Victory, and the Alarm he had struck amongst the *Hollanders*. The King of *France* fixt his Camp and his Court at *Utrecht*, and from thence began to consider the ways how to Possess himself of the other Towns, which were defended not only by their Situation on some flat Lands; that, as they had by infinite Labour and vast Expence in Canals and Dikes, been either gain'd or preserv'd from Inundations, so they were subject to them

A. C.

1672.

Great Pro-  
cess of the  
French,  
1672.  
\* Sir W.  
Temple's  
Memoirs,  
pag. 19.

A. C. 1672. upon opening the Sluces, whenever the *Dutch* found no other way of *Saving* their Country, but by losing it. This was the Preservation of the State : For His Most Christian Majesty unwilling to venture the Glory and Advantage of such Conquests, as he had made that Summer, upon the hazards of a new sort of War, with an uncontrollable Element, where neither Courage nor Conduct were of Use, resolv'd to leave the rest to Negotiations of Peace with the States, upon the Terms he stood in, and the small distance of Place between them ; or, if these should prove ineffectual, then he trusted to the Frosts of the following Winter, which seldom fail in that Country, to make all passable and safe for Troops and Carriages, that in the Summer would be impassable, either from the Waters, or the looseness of the Soil.

The *Dutch* thinking themselves sufficiently secured by the Treaty of *Munster* ; and that no Body could hurt them, but the too great Power of the House of *Nassau*, by Reason of its Alliance with *France*, and particularly with *England*, had made no Provision for their Defence, either at Home or Abroad ; and the Empire, *Spain* and *Sweden* stood at a Gaze upon the opening of the War, not knowing upon what Measures between *England* and *France* it was begun, nor how far the *English* would suffer it to go on upon the *French* Conquests. Besides, the Animosities of the Parties in *Holland*, long express'd under their new Constitution, and *De-Witt's* Ministry, began to flame again upon this Misfortune of their State. The Prince's *Friends* talk'd loud and boldly, that there was no other way to satisfy *England* but Restoring his Highness ; and that the baseness and Cowardise of their Troops, were the Effects of turning out all Officers of worth and bravery for their Inclinations to the House of *Orange*, and mean Fellows brought in upon no other Recommendation than their Enmity to it ; adding, that as his Highness's Illustrious Predecessors had formerly deliver'd them from the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*,

*Spaniards*, so he alone could stop the Fury and Progress of the *French*. Upon this all Men expected a sudden Change, the States were in Disorder, and Irresolute what to do: The Troops were without a General, and which is yet worse, without Heart; and though *De Ruyter*, by admirable Conduct, kept the Infection of those Evils out of his Fleet, which it was the *English* part to deal with, yet Faction, Distrust and Sedition caus'd a Dismal Distraction both in the State and in the Army.

A. C.  
1672.

In the mean time the Princess Dowager, Grand-Mother to his Highness, a Lady of incomparable Prudence, and Masculine Courage, who sufferr'd with Impatience the Eclipse of the House of *Orange*, which she had beheld in its Splendor, was not a little industrious in awakening those Persons that were in her Interests, and who were very numerous. Nor could it be thought a Crime for her to seek the Advantage of her Grand-Child, by the Preservation of his Country, when so many strive to raise themselves by the Ruin of their Native Land. They therefore rous'd up, and disdaining to see themselves despis'd, or that all the Employments of the Commonwealth should be bestowed on the Sons of *Burgo* Masters: And at the same time making use of the Fury and Discontents of the People, who justly alarm'd to see a Victorious Army in the Bowels of their Country, spoke of nothing but Sacrificing the *De-Witts*, managed their Affairs so dextrously, that they compass'd their Designs. For after the Prince had made a Journey towards the beginning of the Year 1672. to visit the Fortifications of some Places, the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* being Assembled, it was unanimously agreed, that he should be chosen Captain and Admiral General of the United Provinces, which was notified next day to the States General; and on the 24th of February Monsieur *De Beverningh*, *John De-Witt*, and *Gaspar Fagel* were deputed by the States to Invest his Highness in those Ancient Dignities belonging to his Ancestors. The Prince had no sooner accepted their Offer, and taken the

The Prince  
of Orange  
made  
Captain  
and Admiral  
General  
Feb. 24,  
1672.



A. C. usual Oaths before the States, but he immediately  
 1672. repair'd to the Army, which was then Posted near  
 ~~~~~ Nieukop; where all his Highness could do against  
 Repairs to the whole Power of France, Commanded by the
 the Army. King in Person, was to keep his Post. This he
 perform'd with so much Conduct, that the Enemy,
 as Powerful as he was, could gain no Advantage
 on that side; and having attempted to force the
 Prince out of his Retrenchments, they were com-
 pell'd to retire with loss, and to abandon their
 Works.

Insurrection All this while the Frontier Towns and Garrisons
 at Dort. in the Province of *Holland* falling every Day into
 the Hands of the Enemy, the People complain'd
 aloud and openly of those that Govern'd. The
 Inhabitants of *Dort* were the first that rose, and sent
 one of their Captains to the Magistrates to know
 whether they were resolv'd to defend the City or sit
 still? The Magistrates Answer'd, that they were
 ready to resist the Efforts of those that should at-
 tack them, and to do all that could be expected
 from them for the security of the City. This An-
 swer did not entirely satisfy the People, who de-
 manded at the same time to see the Magazines. But
 the Keys being missing, this put the Mob into so
 great a Ferment, that there were a Thousand Voi-
 ces crying out, That there was Treachery in the
 Case; and that they would have the Prince of *Orange*
 to be their *Stadtholder*; threatening to Murder the
 Magistrates upon the spot, if they did not imme-
 diately comply with their Demands. These Me-
 naces so terrified the Magistrates, that they dis-
 patch'd Commissioners that very Moment to his
 Highness, beseeching him to hasten to their City,
 to appease the Commotions of the People. The
 Prince alledg'd several Reasons to convince
 them how Dangerous it was for him to leave
 the Army; but all was to no purpose; and his
 Highness was forc'd to yield to their Intreaties
 and Importunity. Being therefore with great So-
 lemnity conducted to the *Town-Hall*, the Magi-
 strates desir'd him to signify his Pleasure to them;
 to which his Highness answer'd, That it was their
 Part

Part to make Proposals to him, since they were the occasion of his coming. After some Demur, they requested him, that for the satisfaction of the People, he would be pleas'd to view the Fortifications and Magazines of the City, without making the least mention of the *Stadtholdership*; to which the Prince readily Consented, and to that Effect, made a Tour about the City. But at his return the People suspecting that the Magistrates had deluded both them and the Prince, flock'd in great Numbers about his Highness's Coach, and boldly ask'd him, but with a great deal of Respect to his Person, whether the Magistrates had made him *Stadtholder*, or no? To which, when his Highness had Modestly Answer'd, That he was contented with the Honour they had already done him; they unanimously declar'd, That they would not lay down their Arms till they saw that Trust conferred upon him. So that at last, the Magistrates terrified by the Threats of the People, and not knowing what other Measures to take in this pressing Exigency, were constrain'd to lead the way for others to accomplish, what had only been by halves as yet perform'd. Upon this they pass an Ordinance to Repeal the perpetual Edict; which the Prince refus'd to own, unless they would Absolve him of the Oath he had taken, when he accepted the Office only of Captain General, which they gave him likewise by this Ordinance; so they immediately made another Act, by which the Magistrates Declar'd his Highness the Prince of Orange to be *Stadtholder, Captain and Admiral General of all their Forces, as well by Sea, as by Land*; and gave him all the Power, Dignity and Authority which his glorious Predecessors had enjoy'd. After this the whole City rang with joyful Acclamations, and the Arms of the House of Orange were immediately placed upon the Towers, and Ramparts.

The only Person in *Dort*, that did not Concur with the Magistrates, was *Cornelius De-Witt*, (Brother to *John De-Witt*, the Pensioner) who coming from the Fleet, Sick and Indispos'd, said, he would

A. C. never Sign the Act. He was prest to do it after
 1672. an extraordinary Manner, but neither the Per-
 swasions of the Chief Men of the City, nor the
 Threatnings of the People, who were ready to
 Plunder his House; nor the Tears of his Wife,
 who was sensible of the great Danger he was in,
 could prevail with him to alter his Resolution.

And by the States General. *Dort*, was not the only place that rose up after
 this manner; all the Cities of *Holland* and *Zealand*,
 where the Burghers took notice of the ill Conduct
 of their Magistrates, did almost the same thing. So
 that upon a Report made by the Deputies of the
 Respective Cities, the States of *Holland*, *Zealand* and
Friezeland, did not only Confirm what had been
 done by the City of *Dort*, but in a full Assembly
 of the States General, they presented the Prince
 with some Publick Acts that were thought ne-
 cessary to a full Restitution of his Highness, now
 at the Age of Twenty One Years, to the Office
 and Power of *Stadtholder*, with all Advantages and
 Prerogatives, and even some more than those
 which had been exercis'd by his Ancestors. In
 Consequence of which his Highness in the Hall
 of Audience, took the place of *Stadtholder* with
 the usual Solemnity, and afterwards return'd to
 the Army that lay encamp'd at *Bodegrave*.

The French repulsed before Ardemburgh From this very Moment, as if the Restoration of
 the Prince had inspir'd the People with new
 Courage, a Body of Five Thousand French were
 Twice repuls'd before *Ardemburgh*, and besides the
 Slain, were forc'd to leave Five Hundred Priso-
 ners behind them; all this was effected by the Brave-
 ry of no more than Two Hundred Burghers, as-
 sisted by the Women and the Boys; which did
 rather heighten the Disgrace of the Besiegers, than
 diminish the Glory of the Besieg'd.

The Bp. of Munster Besieges Gronin- gen without Success. The Burghers of *Groningen*, with the joint-as-
 sistance of the Scholars of that University, did not
 Defend themselves with less Vigour and good For-
 tune against the Bishop of *Munster*, than those of
Ardemburgh had done against the King of France.
 For that Bishop having sat before this City, with
 an Army of near Thirty Thousand Men, he
 was

was forc'd to raise the Siege, with the loss of almost half his Soldiers, after he had been at a prodigious Expence in order to make himself Master of that Important Place. A. C. 1672.

In the midst of this Extraordinary Zeal the People shew'd for the Prince, Monsieur De-Witt and his Brother, were Massacred by the sudden Fury of the Mobb at the Hague, and by the Fate of Ministers that Govern by a Party, or Faction, who are usually Sacrificed to the first great Misfortunes abroad that fall in to aggravate or inflame the general Discontents at Home. This Memorable Accident which serv'd to Confirm his Highness in his Dignities, and in the Affections of the People happen'd in this Manner. Cornelius De-Witt Bailiff of Putton, had been accus'd of a Design upon the Prince's Life, and of endeavouring by Money to engage a Surgeon belonging to his Highness in that wicked Attempt. But no other Witness appearing, and Cornelius recriminating upon his Accuser, he was only banish'd out of the Territories of Holland and Frizeland; at which the People shew'd great Disatisfaction, being possess'd with an Opinion of his Guilt. The Morning he was to come out of Prison, Pensioner De-Witt, (against the Advice of his Friends) would needs go himself to bring him out, with more Honour, and carry him out of Town; and to that Purpose, went with his Coach and Four Horses to the Court. This Equipage being not usual to this Minister, made the People take more Notice of it, and gather together tumultuously, first in the Streets where he past, and then about the Court where the Prisoner was kept; Some of the Train'd Bands of the Hague, that were upon the Guard, mingled among them and began to rail aloud against the Judgment of the Court, the Crime of the one Brother, and the Insolence of the other, who pretended (as they said) to carry him away in Triumph. In the midst of this Heat and Passion rais'd by this kind of Discourses among the Populace, the two Brothers came out, some of the Train'd-Bands stopt them, and one of the

The Tragical end of the two De-Witts
Sir W. Temple's
Memoirs p. 21, &c.

A. C. Burghers dropt these Words among the People :

1672.



* Note that
Sir W.
Temple
places the
Death of
De-Witts
before the
P. of O.
was made
Stadthol-
der.

Now the two Traitors are together, and it is our fault if they escape us. From this ill Language they immediately advanc'd to Blows ; upon which, *John De-Witt* foreseeing how the Tragedy would end, took his Brother by the Hand, and was at the same time knock'd down, with the But-end of a Musquet. They were presently laid Dead upon the spot, then dragg'd about the Town by the Fury of the People, and torn in Pieces. Thus fell one of the greatest Politicians of that Age, after having serv'd or rather administred the Commonwealth of *Holland* as Pensioner, for about Eighteen Years, with great Honour to his Country and himself.

'Tis commonly thought that he was the Author of these Resolutions, *viz.* The Exclusion of his Highness from all his Offices, of the perpetual Edict, and of the Qualities requisite for a *Stadtholder*. * At the same time, *Myn Heer Fagel* was made Pensioner of *Holland*, whose Love to his Country made him a Lover of the Prince, as believing it could not be saved by any other Hands ; and whose Zeal to his own Religion, made him an Enemy irreconcilable to *France*, whose Professions as well as Designs were to destroy it.

This Revolution as it calm'd all at Home, so it made the first Appearance of Defending what was left in in the Country. The State grew United, the Army in Heart, and Foreign Princes began to have Confidence in the Honour and Constancy of the Young Prince, which they in a manner wholly lost upon the Divisions and Misfortunes of the *State*. Among the rest the Elector of *Brandenburg* writ a Letter to the States in Favour of the Prince, telling them : " That since he " heard his Highness was restor'd to the Dignities of " his Ancestors, he did not doubt but Heaven would " Prosper a Resolution so advantageous to the Pub- " lick, especially since he knew the Prince inherited " the Virtues of his illustrious Predecessors ; pro- " testing besides, that he found himself oblig'd up- " on his Elevation, to Contribute all that lay in " his Power to Assist his Highness, to Recover and

“and Preserve what his Ancestors had acquired, A. C.
 “at the Expence of their own Blood, with so 1672.
 “much Reputation to themselves. † The French
 themselves turn'd all their Applications towards † Sir W.
 the Prince, and made his Highness all the Offers Temple's
 that could be of Honour and Advantage to his Memoirs.
 Person and Family, provided he would be content-
 ed to depend upon them. The Bait they thought
 could not fail of being swallow'd, and about which
 the greatest Artifice was imploy'd, was the Pro-
 posal of making the Prince Sovereign of the Pro-
 vinces under the Protection of *England* and *France*.
 And to say Truth, at a time when so little of the
 Provinces was left, and what remain'd was under
 Water, and in so eminent Danger upon the first
 Frosts of the Winter, this seem'd a Lure to which
 a meaner Soul than that of this Prince might
 very well stoop. But his was above it, and his
 Answers always firm, *That he never would betray*
his Trust that was given him, nor ever sell the Li-
berties of his Country, that his Ancestors had so long
defended. Yet the Game he play'd was then thought
 so Desperate, that one of his nearest Servants ask-
 ing him how he pretended to Live after *Holland*
 was Lost? The Prince told him, That he was
 resolv'd to Live upon the Lands he had in *Germa-*
ny; and that he had rather pass his Life in Hunt-
 ing there, than Sell his Country or his Liberty
 to *France* at any Rate. About this time King
Charles II. sent an Embassy to the King of *France*,
 then at *Utrecht*, where the Ambassadors, the Duke
 of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Arlington*, and the Lord
Hallifax, found him in his highest Exaltation. 'Twas
 commonly believ'd in *England* and *Holland*, that
 the true End or Subject of this Embassy was the
 Jealousie the *English* had of the *French* Conquests
 going on so fast, whilst their own went so Lame;
 and great Hopes were rais'd in *Holland*, that it
 was to stop their Course or Extent; but these
 were soon dash'd by the return of the Ambassa-
 dors, after having renew'd and fasten'd the Mea-
 sures formerly taken between the Two Crowns.
 And the Ambassadors were Content as they pass'd
 thro',

A. C. thro' *Holland*, that the first should be thought ;
1672. which gave Occasion for a very good Repartee
 of the Princess Dowager to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who paid her a Visit at the *Hague*, and talking much of their being good *Hollanders*, she told him, That was more than they ask'd, which was only, that they should be good *Englishmen*. He assur'd her they were not only so, but good *Dutchmen* too ; that indeed they did not use *Holland* like a Mistress, but they lov'd her like a Wife ; to which the Princess replied : *Truly, I think you love us, just as you do Yours.*

*Sir W.
 Temple's
 Memoirs,
 p. 26.*

When *France* lost all Hopes of shaking the Prince of *Orange's* Constancy, they bent all their Thoughts upon subduing and running the remainder of the Country. They had advanced as far as *Worden*, and from thence they made their Ravages within two or three Leagues of *Leyden*, with more Violences and Cruelties than would have been prudent, if they had hop'd to reclaim the Prince or the States from their Obstinacy of their Defence. His Highness encamped his Army near *Bodegrave*, between *Leyden* and *Worden*, and being resolv'd to dislodge the advanc'd Guards of the *French*, made a Detachment of Horse and Foot, and with them gave an Alarm to the Enemy, whom he chas'd as far as their Trenches before *Utrecht*, disheartned with the loss of their own Men before *Cronemburgh*. While both Armies were thus busied in the Field, great Change was made in the Magistracy in most Cities to the general Satisfaction of the Inhabitants ; and his Highness not being any longer able to suffer the Corruption of Military Discipline, which of late had been so Fatal to the Republick, order'd several Officers to be punish'd for their Remissness in their Duty. As for the *French*, the Winter prov'd not favourable to their Designs, and some promises of Frost inveigled them into Marches that disappointed their Hopes by a sudden Thaw. This frightened them into Cautions, perhaps more than were necessary, and gave the Prince and States leisure to take their Measures for a following Campaign, with the Emperor, Spain, and the Dukes

A. C.
1672.

Dukes of *Brandenburgh*, and *Lunenburgh*, which proved a Diversion to the Arms of *France*, and turned part of them upon *Germany* and *Flanders*, so as to give over the Progress any further in *Holland*. Upon the approach of the Winter, the Prince of *Orange* being sensibly touched to see the Season almost past without any considerable Action, resolved to Attack *Narden*. For this purpose he Commands Coll. *Zuytlestein* and Count *Horn* to Advance: the first to take his Quarters between *Utrecht* and *Narden*, and the other to Intrench himself at *Polanen*, on the Saw-Mill-side, whilst His Highness sat down with four Regiments on that side next *Bodegrave*. The Duke of *Luxemburgh* with all imaginable speed hasten'd to the Relief of the Besieg'd, and with about Eight or Nine Thousand Men, fell upon Collonel *Zuytlestein*, but was repulsed with loss, and forc'd to retire. The Town was afterwards batter'd in a very furious manner, and reduc'd to such Extremities, that they sent to Catipulate. In this Interval, the Duke of *Luxemburgh* receiv'd a Reinforcement; march'd by a hollow Way full of Water, by the help of some Guides; attack'd once more at unawares, the very same Quarters of Coll. *Zuytlestein*, from whence he had been beaten the Night before, and after a Bloody Obstinate Dispute, wherein the Colonel was Stain, (having refused Quarter) the Duke, at last, threw a Relief of Three Thousand Men into the Town; but nevertheless he was Beaten back the Second time by Count *Horn*, and forc'd to leave his Prisoners behind him. Of the *French*, there were Two Thousand kill'd, and Fifty Officers who died of their Wounds, after the Engagement; which caus'd a great Consternation among the *French* that were at *Utrecht*; the *Hollanders* lost Six or Seven Hundred Men, besides Colonel *Zuytlestein*, a Lieutenant Colonel, and some other Officers. His Highness seeing the Town had receiv'd so considerable a Relief, retir'd to his own Quarters, and rais'd the Siege with the comfort however of having cut in Pieces almost Five entire Regiments of the Enemy, and of having twice repulsed an

The P. of
Orange
Besieges
Narden.

Raises the
Siege.

Old

A. C. Old Experienc'd General, who had never succeed-
 1672. ed in his Design, had it not been for the Treachery of the Peasants.

After this unsuccessful Attempt upon *Naerden*, the Prince having Commanded the Horse that were Quarter'd at *Helden* to hinder the *English* Merchandise from being Transported from *Rotterdam* and *Brabant*, march'd himself to *Rosendael*, which was the place of the General Rendezvous, from whence with an Army of 24000 Horse and Foot, he bent his March towards the Country of *Liege*. At his approach the Count *de Duras*, who encamp'd at *Maseyk*, retir'd with his Army to *Vassemburgh*, and higher to the River *Roer*. His Highness's chief Design was to drive the French from their Quarters near the *Meuse*, and to engage Count *de Duras* in a Battle, in Case he found a favourable Opportunity to do it. To Effect this, having passed his Army upon a Bridge of Boats near *Navagne*, and join'd the Auxiliary *Spaniards*, he march'd directly to *Tongres*, and invested it on all sides, with the *Spanish* Horse and his own. He had no sooner done this, but News was brought him that Count *de Duras* had decamp'd, upon which repassing the *Meuse*, between *Sittart* and *Maseyk*, he pitch'd his Camp near *Ainsbergh*, where he continued two Days, to see if he could draw the Count to a Battle; but the River which was swell'd with the late Rains, not favouring his Design, he return'd the same way to *Maestricht*; from whence he sent a Detachment of Horse and Foot to make themselves Masters of the Castle of *Valcheren*. This Castle was strongly Fortified, but after some Resistance surrender'd at Discretion. After this his Highness march'd to *Lowick*, still in hopes of Engaging the Enemy; but the Count *de Duras* had retir'd with mighty speed, and was got at such a distance, that 'twas impossible for the Prince to come up to him.

At last perceiving that the Enemy had no mind to hazard a Battle, his Highness order'd the Count *de Marcin* to Invest *Charleroy* with the Van-Guard, whilst he himself follow'd with the main Body of the Army;

Army; but the cold Weather rendring the opening of the Trenches impracticable, he abandon'd the Design of a Siege; and having made himself Master of *Bins*, taken several Prisoners, pillag'd and demolish'd the Town, he march'd back the same way, and dispos'd his Army into Winter Quarters, with the glory of having penetrated, in the midst of a violent Winter, into the Enemies Country, hunted an Old General from Place to Place; alarm'd the Count *de Montal*, who sometimes shut himself in *Tongres*, sometimes in *Charleroy*, because he was afraid of both these Places; then to return home with abundance of Prisoners, and the Booty of two Fortified Places, and all this within the compass of nine Days, without the loss of scarce any of his Men. Not to mention the Terror he put the Arch-bishop of *Cologne* in, who neither thought himself safe at *Bonn*, or any other Place within his own Territories, whilst the Prince was so near him.

During his Highness's Expedition, the Duke of *Luxemburg* assembled an Army of 14000 Horse and Foot, with a Resolution to Conquer the Province of *Holland*; and hoping to enrich himself and his Men with the Pillage of *Leyden*, and the *Hague*, design'd to march upon the Ice with the Flower of his Troops, towards the end of *December*, but being arriv'd at *Slinwetering* he found the Waters so high, that only 3500 Foot could pass, the rest being oblig'd to return to *Naerden*. This Party first attack'd *Newcrop*, but were beaten off by the Peasants, so that finding themselves repuls'd on that side, they directed their March towards *Swammerdam*, where the Garrison were the first that Fled, leaving the Inhabitants to the Mercy of the Enemy. Nevertheless Count *Koningsmark*, who Commanded at *Bodegrave*, upon Advice of the coming of the *French*, marched with all imaginable haste to *Leyden*, and posted a Regiment at *Goursluys* to hinder their Incurfions on that side.

This unexpected march of the *French* at first put the People into a great Consternation, particularly those of the *Hague*; but nothing disheartned them
so

A. C. 1672. so much, as to hear, that while the State took all possible Measures to cut off the Enemies Retreat, Collonel *Painvin* had abandon'd his Post at *Niewerburgh*, and retir'd to *Tergow*. By this means the *French* had a free Passage to go home when they pleas'd, whereas otherwise they must either have perish'd in the Water, or else Surrendered themselves at Discretion, by reason of the Thaw which follow'd soon after. But all their Fears vanish'd at the Prince's return, who having at *Breda* receiv'd advice of this Enterprize of the *French*, march'd with incredible speed to *Alfen*, and in a short time re-establish'd every thing as before by his Presence: All this while the Duke of *Luxemburg* ravag'd the Heart of the Country, where he had like to have lost his Life by a fall from his Horse into the Water; but though he made a shift to escape, it fared no so with 600 of his Soldiers who were drowned; which put an end to this bold and hazardous Expedition.

Coeverden Recover'd.

The *French* committed unheard of Barbarities at *Swammerdam*, and all other Places of which they made themselves Masters; but these Losses were in some measure Recompensed by the taking of *Coeverden*, at that time one of the strongest Cities of the *Low Countries*, and the Key of *Friezeland* and *Groningen*. This Place fell into the Hands of the Bishop of *Munster*, in the fatal Year 1672. not without suspicion of Treachery. But Fortune now declining to espouse the *French* Interest any longer, since his Highness's Restoration, it was re-taken by Assault, by a Party of 1000 Men, Commanded by Mr. *de Rabenbaupt*, with as much Gallantry and Courage, as it had been lost with Dishonour and Cowardice. The Bishop of *Munster* had plentifully stor'd that Place with a Prodigious Quantity of Provisions and Warlike Ammunitions, with design to make it a Magazine for those Parts, and therefore the loss of it extremely mortified the Enemy, and put them into such a Consternation, that they immediately abandon'd several other Places. All these Successes did not a little contribute to raise the Reputation of the Prince of *Orange*, for the People

People observing how much all Affairs went for the better, ever since the Management of them was lodged in his Highness's Hands, they easily inclin'd to ascribe this unexpected Prosperity to his Bravery and Conduct.

At this time the Disputes between the new and old Magistrates of *Friezeland* were maintain'd with that Heat and Animosity, that they held their Assemblies apart, and thwarted each other by their opposite Resolutions. This Disorder, which might in time have proved Pernicious to the Publick Repose, could never be determin'd by the Government of that Province, nor by the Princess Dowager of *Orange*; but no sooner did his Highness interpose in this Affair by his Commissioners, but all these Breaches were repair'd, and the Country once more settled in Order and Union. After this his Highness went in Person to *Zealand*, where the same Divisions reign'd as in *Friezeland*; and at his first Appearance in the Assembly of the States of that Province at *Middelburgh*, all the Differences vanish'd, to the great Satisfaction of the People and Magistrates, and to the Praise of our Illustrious Prince. From thence his Highness took occasion to go and view the Frontiers and Fortifications of *Flushing*, *Sluys*, *Ardenburgh*, *Affendyk*, *Bergen-op-zoom*, *Breda*, *Boisleduc*, and other Places; and then return'd to the *Hague*.

The Spring was by this time well advanc'd, and the *Hollanders* had business enough on their Hands; for on one side they were assaulted by the King of *France* in Person with a Powerful Army, and the Prince of *Condé*, with the Duke of *Luxemburgh* were at *Utrecht* with great Forces, watching an opportunity to throw themselves into the Heart of the Country; and on the other side the King of *Great Britain* vigorously attack'd them at Sea, with his Fleet, in Conjunction with that of *France*. For these Reasons the Prince of *Orange* could not stir abroad, being constrain'd to keep his Post, as well to have an Eye upon the Prince of *Condé* and the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, as to prevent the Landing of the *English*.

On

A. C. On the 10th of June 1673. the King of France 1673. sat down before *Maestricht* with an Army of 40000 Horse and Foot; the Garrison of the Place *Maestricht* consisting of about 4000 Foot, and 8 or 900. Horse, under the Command of Monsieur de *Forsaux*, a brave experienced Captain. The Siege was carried on with all that Vigour and Ardour which a well Disciplin'd Army shew when they Fight in the Presence of a great King, as Generous in Rewarding Courage, as Severe in Punishing Cowardise: On the other hand the Resistance of the Besieged was answerable to the Attacks of the Besiegers; till after a stout Defence, which lasted near three Weeks, the Garrison being reduc'd to one half, and the rest wanting Provisions and Ammunition, the Governour was forc'd at last to Capitulate, at the repeated Instances of the Magistrates, or, as some pretend, by the Treachery of some Ecclesiasticks of the *Romish* Perswasion. However, upon a Faithful Relation which the Governour gave the Prince of all that had happen'd, his Highness was so well satisfied with his Conduct, that he made him Major General of his Army. The taking of this important Place cost the King of France 9000 of his best Soldiers, all his Musqueteers except Seven, and an infinite number of brave Officers. Therefore his Majesty thinking he had done enough for this Campaign, having caus'd the Fortifications of *Tongres* to be Demolish'd, immediately divided his Army, part of which he sent to the *Mareschal de Turenne*; another Body was appointed to ravage the Country of *Trier*, because the Elector of that Name had taken the Emperor's side; and three Brigades march'd to Reinforce the French in *Holland*.

During this Interval a Squadron of French Men of War having * joyn'd the *English* Navy, Commanded by Prince *Rupert*, the whole Fleet weigh'd Anchor on the 31th of May, and steer'd towards the Coast of *Holland*. On the 8th and 14th of June there happen'd two Engagements between the *English* and the *Dutch*, wherein the first had some small Advantage, and forc'd the latter to Retreat among their Shallows. On the 26th of July Prince *Rupert*

* The English and French Fleet joyn, May 26. N. S.

Rupert set Sail again from the *Buoy* in the *Nore* in quest of the Enemy, whom he Engaged a third time, and after a stout and valiant Contest obtain'd a dear-bought Victory, and came to an Anchor near *Harwich*.

A. C.

1673.

And Engage three

times the

Dutch

Fleet.

The Prince

Orange

Besieges

and takes

Naerden.

The *French* Army being dispers'd, and the *English* Fleet after the last Engagement leaving the Coast of *Holland*, the Prince of *Orange* found himself more at Liberty, and longing to be in Action, he recall'd all the Troops that were in *Zealand*, to come and joyn the rest of his Army, and march'd all on the sudden to Besiege *Naerden* with 25000 Men. The Duke of *Luxemburgh* with a Body of 10000 Men, besides 4 Regiments of *Munsterian* Horse, advanc'd as far as the Prince's Intrenchments, but not daring to relieve the Town, his Highness pursued his Enterprize, took the Counterscarp by Assault, and the Ravelin before the *Huyserpoort* after three hours Resistance, forc'd the Besieg'd to retire into the Town in great Disorder, and obliged them the Day following to Capitulate. In short, after a Siege of four Days, the Town was Surrendred, on Condition the Garrison should march out with Colours flying, Drums beating, and with two pieces of Cannon; but notwithstanding this honourable Capitulation, the *French* Governour being tried at *Utrecht* by a Court Martial, was Ignominiously Degraded, and condemned to perpetual Imprisonment. Whatever was the reason of the Garrison's defending themselves no longer, his Highness who, to encourage the Soldiers by his own Example, expos'd himself to all dangers, both in the Trenches, and upon the Batteries, carried the Town with the loss only of 109 Men Kill'd, and 200 Wounded; whereas the Enemy lost abundance more, which is quite contrary to what happens in all other Sieges. The Prince having given the necessary Orders to repair the Fortifications, and left a sufficient Garrison in the Place, under the Command of Count *Koningsmark* a Brave Experienc'd Captain; his Highness return'd to the *Hague* to prepare himself for some greater Designs.

D

Upon

A. C.
1673.
* Sir. W.
Temple's
Memoirs.

Upon the Approach of the Winter his Highness * resolved, like another young *Scipio*, to save his Country by abandoning it, and avoid so many Sieges, as all the Towns they had lost would cost to recover; therefore after the States had made a stricter Alliance with the King of *Spain* and the Emperour, the Prince of *Orange*, to perform something Remarkable before the Season was over, advanced to *Rosendaël* in *Brabant* with his Army, and joyn'd the Count *de Monterey*, who without the least Difficulty yielded to him the Command of all the Confederate Forces. But finding the Prince of *Condé* had chang'd his Post upon the News of the two Armies being joyn'd, and that he had so well Intrench'd himself that it was impossible to attack him, he advanced higher and joyn'd the Imperial Army, Commanded by *Montecuculi*, between *Andernack* and *Bonn*. In his March he Summon'd *Rhinbeck* to Surrender, which through the Perswasion of a Burgher, who encourag'd the rest to make Resistance, being refus'd, he commanded the *Sieur de Walkemburg* to Storm the Town, which was perform'd with that Fury, that the Soldiery upon their first Entrances put all to the Sword; and, amongst the rest, hang'd up the Burgher who had so ill advis'd them as to make an Opposition.

Bonn Be-
sieged and
taken by
the P. of
Orange.

The Confederates being now joyn'd, it was resolv'd to Besiege *Bonn*, which had been put into the Hands of *France* at the beginning of the War, wherein the Elector of *Cologne*, and the Bishop of *Munster* had enter'd jointly with *France*. The Boldness of this Action amas'd all Men, but the Success extoll'd the Prudence as well as the Bravery of it, for the Prince took *Bonn*, notwithstanding the Resistance of a numerous Garrison, reinforced by *Mareschal d'Humieres*, and by it open'd a Passage for the German Forces over the *Rhine*, and so into *Flanders*.

Bonn being taken, his Highness retir'd to *Vesseling*, and from thence marching lower with his Army, and that of the Imperialists, (which he also Commanded in the Absence of *Montecuculi*) he took the Cities of *Brevel* and *Schwib*. All this while
Mareschal

Mareschal Turenne kept himself at a distance, for although he receiv'd the News that Bonn was Besieg'd, and had a great desire to attempt the raising of the Siege, yet knowing that the Duke of Lorraine lay upon the Banks of the Moselle to observe him, he mov'd up and down in the Electorate of Mentz, being very much concern'd that he was no sooner inform'd of the Conjunction of the Confederates.

This successful Expedition of the Prince of Orange gave such a damp to the Designs and Enterprizes of France, that they immediately abandon'd all their Conquests upon Holland, in less time than they made them, retaining only Maestricht and the Grave. Woerden was the first Place they quitted, as it was the first that suffer'd under their Tyranny, the Governour having receiv'd Orders from the Duke of Luxemburgh to dismantle it, to carry away with him all the Ammunition and the heavy Cannon, and to exact the Summ of 20000 Livers from the Inhabitants to save their Houses from Plunder. Harderwick was also dismantled; yet for all that the French had the good manners to demand 12000 Livers of the Inhabitants, but the richest Burghers having long before quitted the Town, they were forc'd to go without it. The Fort of Crevecoeur was utterly Demolish'd; nevertheless the French made an offer to save the Church and the Governour's House for the Summ of 3000 Pistols, to be paid by the Inhabitants of Boisleduc, but their Proposal being rejected, they neither spar'd the House nor the Church. Bommel, a Fortress of great Importance, upon the Fortifications of which Place the King of France had expended the Summ of 20000 Livers, was also deserted, the Inhabitants giving at the same time 12 Hostages for the Payment of 6000 Livers to save their Houses from being Pillaged. Utrecht, where the French had always between 6 or 7000 Men in Garrison, was likewise abandon'd, the Burghers having given Hostages for the Payment of 100000 Crowns. Upon the Retreat of the French from this Place the Burghomasters were Absolv'd from the Oath

A C.

1674.



they had taken against the Restoration of the Prince of Orange, and sent their Deputies to his Highness to acknowledge him for their Stadtholder in the Name of the Province. *Elburgh* upon the South Sea, *Campen* in *Overyssel*, and *Hattem* were also quitted by the French, as was *Steenwick* and *Weppel* by the *Munsterians*.

In Consideration of this great and unexpected turn of Affairs, which was entirely owing to the Wisdom, Conduct and Valor of the Prince of Orange, the States General, to Testifie how sensible they were of the Services he had done the Republick, not only Confirm'd the High-Office of Stadtholder of the Provinces of *Holland* and *West-Frizeland*, in the Person of his Highness during Life, but settled it likewise upon the Heirs Male of his Body, Born in Lawful *Wedlock*, by a Decree, dated *Febr. 2. 1674.* not to be left out in this Place, as being a Monument erected to his Highness's Honour.

A Decree
of the
States Ge-
neral con-
stituting
the Prince
of Orange
Hereditary
Stadthol-
der.

“ Having taken into Deliberation, by way of
“ Resumption, what the Lord's Deputies of the
“ City of *Haerlem*. propos'd to the Assembly the
“ 23d of *January* last past, Whether it would not
“ be Expedient that the Charge of *Stadtholder*, and
“ Captain and Admiral General of the Provinces of
“ *Holland* and *West Frizeland*, and Captain and Ad-
“ miral General of the United Provinces, should de-
“ scend upon the Heirs Male of his Highness the
“ Prince of *Orange*, Begotten in Lawful Marriage,
“ as by the Rolls of the same Date, more amply
“ may appear. We, the Body and Nobility, and
“ the Deputies of the Cities, in the Name, and
“ on the Behalf of the Burghers and Commonality
“ of the said Cities, have Declar'd, and do De-
“ clare by these Presents, That having deliberate-
“ ly considered the State and Constitution of the
“ Government of these Countrys, as it was in for-
“ mer times, by the Blessing of God, under the
“ most Illustrious Princes of *Orange*, of Glorious
“ Memory, his Highness's Predecessors, and whate-
“ ver has befallen this Republick, for these Twenty
“ Three or Twenty Four Years last past, till now,

“ we

“ we have observ’d this Republick has been af-
 “ flicted with several Calamities and Disasters,
 “ as well Domestick as Foreign, ever since the sad
 “ and unfortunate Year 1650. That as to our
 “ Foreign Calamities, we have never been with-
 “ out Wars, or fears of Wars: More particularly
 “ one most dreadful War between the Kingdom
 “ of *England* and these States, which shook the ve-
 “ ry Foundations of the Government of these
 “ Countries, so that hardly it has recover’d Wealth
 “ ever since the said War; and another against
 “ the Crown of *Portugal*, in the Year 1656, and
 “ 1658, and 1659, and another occasion’d by the
 “ Interest of the Northern Crowns. That in the
 “ Year 1664 they had another new War with the
 “ King of *Great Britain*, and now this present War
 “ more sad and fatal than all the rest. And that
 “ during the whole Course of the said War, this
 “ Republick has been constrain’d to suffer many
 “ Affronts from her Neighbours. to whom she
 “ was before a Terror. That as to our Domestick
 “ Affairs, we have been overwhelm’d with Inte-
 “ stine Divisions and Factions. That from the
 “ Year 1650, to the Year 1660, several Members
 “ of this Republick have had a particular Aver-
 “ sion to the Person of the present Prince of *Orange*,
 “ the only Son of that Illustrious Family; and
 “ that others on the contrary have zealously main-
 “ tain’d, that the said Prince ought not to be un-
 “ gratefully abandon’d. That the King of *Great*
 “ *Britain* being recall’d to the Government of his
 “ Dominions, and passing thro’ these Countries, in
 “ order to his Embarking for *England*, this Re-
 “ publick Testify’d, as well to His Majesty, as
 “ to the Princess Royal and Dowager, that they
 “ would take particular Care of the Interest and
 “ Education of his Highness, and to Restore him
 “ to the Dignities which his Illustrious Ancestors
 “ of glorious Memory, had enjoy’d. But that af-
 “ ter the Death of the said Princess Royal, all
 “ good Will, and Affection towards his Highness
 “ was lost, and no farther Notice taken of him,
 “ till of late, that some Care was taken of his E-

A. C.

1674.



" ducation, and that at length towards the end of
 " 1671, or 1672, great Contests arose about the
 " Election of his Highness to be Captain Gene-
 " ral of the Militia of this Country. That we
 " have found by sad Experience, that the said
 " Intestine Divisions and Factions have given an
 " Occasion to the Enemies of this Republick to
 " Affront us every Moment, as knowing well that
 " they render us incapable to mind our own
 " Defence, by the Violation of the Union which
 " laid the Foundation of this Republick, and which
 " God has so miraculously Blessed. And that the
 " differences which arose every Day about the E-
 " lection of a Captain General of the Militia, and
 " the Discords which happen'd among the Prin-
 " cipal Members of this Republick were the Oc-
 " casions that retarded and hindred the Delibera-
 " tions and Resolutions, which of Necessity ought
 " to have been taken, to repel Foreign Force, and
 " make us spend in idle Disputes, that precious time,
 " which ought to have been better Husbanded.
 " That the said Divisions were the Reason, that
 " toward the Year 1671, when the King of *France*
 " openly Declar'd that he would make a War a-
 " gainst this Country, we consum'd whole Months
 " together in Deliberating about the Election of
 " a Captain General, and whether to pitch upon
 " the Person of his Highness, which time ought
 " to have been spent in providing for the Defence
 " of the State. And that for the same Reason it
 " was, that the King of *France* invaded this Coun-
 " try by Force of Arms, in the Year 1672. and
 " reduc'd us to the last Extremities and Hazard of
 " total Ruin. That therefore the Lords, the
 " States of *Holland*, have deem'd it necessary; as
 " the only Expedient that they can imagine or
 " hope for, absolutely to pluck up by the Roots
 " the Occasions of the said Factions and Divisi-
 " ons, to prevent their falling any more into Mis-
 " fortunes, and Miseries to which they have hi-
 " therto been expos'd, and on the other side, to
 " acknowledge the great Services which the most
 " Illustrious House of *Orange* has from time to
 " time



“time perform’d for the Preservation and Establish-
 “ment of this Republick. For these Reasons the
 “Lords of the Body of the Nobility, as also the
 “Deputies of the Cities, have unanimously Con-
 “ferr’d, and by these Presents do confer in the
 “Name, and on the Behalf of the Burghers and
 “Commonality of the said Cities upon his High-
 “ness and his Heirs Male, Begotten in Lawful
 “Matrimony, the Charge of *Stadtholder*, Captain
 “and Admiral General of the Provinces of *Hol-*
 “*land* and *West-Frizeland*, with all the Dignities,
 “Preheminences, Prerogatives, Rights and Privi-
 “ledges, thereto belonging without any Excep-
 “tion or Reservation, in as ample and in the
 “same manner, as the same Charge is at present
 “executed by his Highness. And consequently,
 “that after the Decease of his said Highness (to
 “whom nevertheless the States of *Holland* wish a
 “long and happy Life, in all Health and Pro-
 “perity) the said Charge of *Stadtholder*, Captain
 “and Admiral General of the Provinces of *Hol-*
 “*land* and *West-Frizeland*, with all the Dignities,
 “Preheminences, Prerogatives, Rights and Privi-
 “ledges thereunto belonging, without any Excep-
 “tion or Reservation, shall devolve and descend
 “upon his Heirs Male, Begotten in Lawful Wed-
 “lock. In pursuance of which Resolution, the
 “said Lords of the Body of the Nobility have or-
 “der’d Letters Patents to be drawn up, and seal-
 “ed with the Great Seal of the said Provinces.

The same Day also the States of *Zealand* confer-
 red the same Dignities upon his Highness, and De-
 clar’d him withall Chief Hereditary Nobleman of
 their Province.

It was now high time to deliver the United
 Provinces from those Confusions and Disorders
 which the *French* had Occasion’d in the Govern-
 ment. To effect this, the Prince went to *Utrecht*,
 and having Assembled the States, his Highness set-
 tled the Government of that Province upon the
 Ancient Foot; and chose new Members to Com-
 pose the Body of the Nobility and Magistracy. In
 return of this Care, the States of *Utrecht* Confer-

A. C.

1674.

*Advances
towards a
Peace be-
tween
England
and Hol-
land.*

red upon his Highness the Hereditary Charge of Stadtholder of their Province.

About this time, after two Summers spent in a War between *England* and *Holland*, with several Engagements at Sea, but no Decisive Action; both Parties began to enter upon Thoughts, and indeed Necessities of a Peace. The Nations had been at War without being Angry, and the Quarrel had been thought on both sides, rather of the Ministers than the People's. The *Dutch* believ'd it at first intended only against *De-Wit's* Faction, in favour of the Prince of *Orange*; and in *England* some laid it to the Corruption of the Ministers by the Money of *France*; and some who pretended to think deeper, laid it to deeper Designs. The Lord *Clifford's* Violence in beginning it gave an ill Air in general; and the Disuse of Parliaments, a cruel Maim in the chief Sinews of War.

The Subsidies from *France* bore no Proportion to the Charge of the *English* Fleet: And the Naval Strength of *England* seem'd rather lessen'd than increas'd by the Conjunction of that of *France*. The *English* Seamen Fought without Heart, and were more afraid of their Friends than their Enemies; and the Discontents were so great at Land, that the Assembling of the Militia to defend the Coasts, was thought as Dangerous as an Invasion. But that which most prest his *Britannick* Majesty to the Thoughts of a Peace, was the Resolution of *Spain* to Declare War with *England*, as they had done already with *France*, in favour of *Holland*, unless the Peace were suddenly made, which would have been such a Blow to the *English* Trade, as could not easily have been fenc'd: So as the Necessity of this Conjunction was only kept off by the Honour of the Alliance with *France*. However, that Crown being not able to furnish Supplies enough to carry on the War without a Parliament, could not oppose the calling one upon this Occasion. When the Parliament met, tho' they seem'd willing to give the King Money, yet it was to make the Peace with *Holland*, and not to carry on the War: And upon his Majesty's demand-

manding their Advice, they gave it unanimously, That the Peace should be made.

A. C.

1674

On the 12th of *February* (New Stile) 1674. His Majesty of *Great Britain* receiv'd the certain Advice of the States having pass'd a Resolution, That the Charges and Dignities Possess'd by the Prince of *Orange* and his Ancestors, should become Hereditary to his Children. And at the same time he also receiv'd a Letter from the States, with the desire of Passports for the Ambassadors whom they were resolv'd to send to His Majesty with Instructions and Powers to Treat and Conclude a Peace; and, in the mean time, they offer'd a Suspension of Arms. This offer coming upon the Neck of the Parliament's Advice to His Majesty to enter into a Treaty with the *Spanish* Ambassador upon the Propositions he had advanc'd, and which the King had order'd to be sent to the Parliament, it was not believ'd by the Ministers that a Treaty could be refus'd without drawing too much *Oidium* upon themselves, and Reflection upon the Government. On the other side, it was suspected what Practices might be set on foot by *Dutch* Ambassadors, upon the general Discontent reigning against the present War. Therefore that very Afternoon a Resolution was taken at the Foreign Committee, to send, rather than to receive an Embassie upon this Subject, and that Sir *William Temple* should be the Person employ'd; and accordingly the King gave him his Commands, with many Expressions of Kindness and Confidence. Sir *William* told the King, he was ready to Obey him, with a great deal of Pleasure to see His Majesty returning to the Measures upon which he had formerly serv'd him; but that he might do it the better, he Begg'd of His Majesty that he might go over without the Character of Ambassador, which would Delay or Embarrass him with Preparations of Equipage, and with Ceremonies there, that were unnecessary to so sudden a Dispatch. His Majesty thought what Sir *William Temple* said very Pertinent, and so order'd that he should go as Plenipotentiary; but that he should have in

A. C. in all kinds the Appointment of Ambassador, and
 1674. that he should take upon him the Character too
 when the Peace was Concluded.

Sir W. Within three Days Sir *William Temple* was ready ;
 Temple's, and the Morning his Dispatches were so too, the
Memoirs, p. Marquess of *Frezno*, *Spanish* Ambassador, sent
 7. &c. My Lord *Arlington* word, that he had receiv'd full
 Power from the States to Treat and Conclude a
 Peace, and was ready to enter upon it whenever His
 Majesty pleas'd. The Lord *Arlington* surpriz'd,
 was at first of Opinion the King should go on in
 his own way, and give the *Spaniards* no part in
 this Affair ; Sir *William Temple*, who happen'd to be
 with the Lord *Arlington* when the Message came,
 was of another Mind, and that besides the Point
 of Honour which was clear, in having the Peace
 made rather at *London* than at the *Hague*, he thought
 that of Interest might be better pursued. Besides, he
 believ'd the *Spaniard* would Play fair in a Game,
 that he thought so much his own, and not suffer
 the *Dutch* to stop at any small Points, especially
 those of Honour, whereof that of the Flag (tho'
 such) was one His Majesty ought to lay most to
 Heart. The Lord *Arlington* agreed with Sir *Wil-*
liam ; who having acquainted the King with it,
 His Majesty seem'd pleas'd with the Change, and
 told him, That since he did not Treat of the
 Peace at the *Hague*, he should however at *London*,
 and bid him go and Acquaint the Marquis of
Frezno with his Resolution.

Peace con- Sir *William Temple* having receiv'd his Instru-
 cluded be- ctions, went to the Marquis of *Frezno*, and at
 tween Eng- three Meetings concluded the whole Treaty, with
 land and Satisfaction to His Majesty, and Transport to the
 Holland. Marquis, upon so great an Honour, as he thought
 Feb. 1674. it, to himself, and the Fortunes he expected upon
 it from his Master. The two Points of greatest
 Difficulty were that of the Flag, and the recalling
 all *English* Troops from the *French* Service. This
 last was compos'd by private Engagements to suf-
 fer those that were there to wear out without a-
 ny Recruits, and permit no new ones to go over ;
 but at the same time to give leave for such Le-
 vies

vies as the States should think fit to make in His Majesties Dominions, both of *English* and *Scotch* Regiments. The other of the Flag was carried to all the height His Majesty could wish, and thereby a Claim of the Crown of *England*, the acknowledgment of its Dominion in the Narrow Seas, allow'd by the Treaty to the *English*, from the most powerful of their Neighbours at Sea, which had never yet been yielded by the weakest of them. The Sum of Money given His Majesty by the States, tho' it was not considerable in it self, and less to the King, by the greatest part of it being applied to the Prince of *Orange's* Satisfaction for his Mother's Portion, that had never been Paid; yet it gave the King the whole Honour of the Peace, as the Sum given by the Parliament upon it, and the general Satisfaction of his People made the Ease of it.

A. C.
1674.

After the Peace was made, King *Charles's* first Care was to soften the Stroke as much as he could towards *France*, which was done by representing the Necessities of it, (that wanted no false Colours) and, at the same time, to offer his Mediation between the Parties remaining still in War, in Case *France*, either desir'd or accepted of it.

The *French* who began to wish the War well ended, thought fit to accept and approv'd the King of *England's* offer of Mediation; that of *Sweden* being ended by the Assembly at *Cologne's* breaking up, in Expostulations and Quarrels upon the Emperor's seizing the Person of Prince *William* of *Furstemburgh*, a Subject of the Empire. Thereupon His *Britannick* Majesty dispatch'd Sir *William Temple* to *Holland*, with the Charge of his Ambassador Extraordinary, to offer his Mediation there, as the Scene of the Confederates Common Councils, and by their Means to endeavour the Acceptance of it by the rest of the Princes concerned in the War.

Sir W.
Temple
goes over
Ambassa-
dor to
Holland.
July
1674.

Whilst these things were transacting in *England*, General *Rabenhaupt* with the Militia of *Frizeland* and *Groningen*, made himself Master of *Northorn*, and from thence advancing to *Tuven*, took several

A. C.

1674.



ral other Places of less Importance, designing to drive all the *Munsterians* out of that part of the Country, and to that end marched as far as *Nienbuys*. The Enemy was no sooner inform'd of his March, but they invested *Northom*, and beat the advanc'd Guards back into the Town. Of which General *Rabenhaupt* had no sooner receiv'd Intelligence, but he hasten'd back to the Relief of the Place, and forc'd the Enemy to a swift Retreat. The next Day he return'd to *Nienbuys*, took the Town by Assault, and forc'd the Castle to Surrender at Discretion. After this Happy Success General *Rabenhaupt* put his small Body of an Army into Winter Quarters, which News being brought to *Nagel*, General of the *Munsterians*, he came back again, and retook the Place for the Bishop his Munster.

The Bishop
of Mun-
ster makes
Peace with
the Empe-
ror.

Whereupon
the French
quit the
Province of
Overysse.

However, the Bishop of *Munster* apprehending the doubtful Issue of the War, or rather fearing the Approach of the *Imperialists*, prevented the impending Danger by a timely Peace with the Emperor; which so alarm'd the *French*, who were still in Possession of their Frontier Towns in the *Low-Countries*, that the Marquis *de Bellefonds*, who succeeded the Marshal *d'Humieres* in the Government of the Conquer'd Provinces, resolv'd to abandon the rest, pretending he had occasion for the Men to keep the Conquests they had upon the *Rhine*. Besides, having receiv'd Information that the Prince of *Orange*, upon the Strength and Heart of the Peace with *England*, had concerted with the *German* and *Spanish* Troops to begin an Offensive War, and at the Head of an Army of near 50000 Men to March into *France*, instead of Fortifying the Places of his Government, he began to Demolish them. *Thiel* Compounded for 22000 Florins, to preserve themselves from Fire and Plunder and save their Fortifications; the Town of *Zutphen* promis'd 70000, and deliver'd Hostages for the Security of the Payment. *Arnhem* Paid a Ransom of 26000 Florins, and 4000 Sacks of Corn and Meal; and *Deventer* Paid 6000 Rix Dollars to the Bishop of *Munster*. Thus the whole

whole Province of *Overyffel* regain'd its Ancient Liberty, and return'd to its Natural and Lawful Sovereigns. After which the Prince of *Orange* sent Commissioners thither to make some necessary Changes, and regulate Affairs, till such time as he had an Opportunity to come himself in Person, to make a lasting Settlement.

The King of *France* seem'd highly displeas'd with the Conduct of the Marquis de *Bellefonds*, whom therefore he Banish'd to *Bourges*, although all the World knew this was only a meer pretence to conceal his present Necessities, and that he was forc'd to drain his Garrisons in the *Low-Countries* to Reinforce his Army, which he intended for the Conquest of the *Franche-Comté*, resolving to gain in one place what he had lost in another. Accordingly his most Christian Majesty entred the *Franche-Comté* with a Prodigious Army, which joyning with another that was Commanded by the Prince of *Condé*, became so formidable, that in a short time he made himself Master of *Besançon*, *Dole*, *Salins*, in a Word, of the whole Province. While these two Armies were thus joyn'd, the Prince of *Orange* repair'd with his Army to *Bergen-op-zoom*, from whence he march'd to *Mechlin*, and kept himself on his Guard all the time the King of *France* was in the Field. But this Monarch being return'd to *Paris* after his new Conquests, which cost him many brave Officers, the *Imperialists* threw themselves into *Namur*, took the Castle, and *Dinant*, and by this means the Passage of the *Meuse* being open'd, they went to joyn the Army of the Confederates towards the end of *July*. The three Generals, after a short Conference, order'd that the Count de *Souches*, with the German Troops, should lead the Van; the Prince of *Vaudemont* and Count *Monterey*, with the Spaniards, the Rear; and Count *Waldeck*, with the Dutch, the Main Battle; with whom the Prince march'd, and Commanded the whole Confederate Army. In this order the Confederates, to the Number of near 60000, prepar'd to attack the Prince of *Condé*, who with an Army of 50000 Men was Encamp'd

A. C.

1674

The French King seizes the Franche-Comté.

A. C: Encamp'd on the other side the River *Pieton*, to prevent the Designs of the Enemy.

1674. *Negotiation* Sir *William Temple* being arriv'd at the *Hague*, deliver'd his Credentials to the President of the of Sir W. Week, and made a Visit to Pensioner *Fagel*, Temple. wherein he discover'd a strong Inclination in the States to a Peace, as far as the Honour and Engagements to their Allies would allow them, and was assur'd of the States accepting his Majesty's Mediation. After this, his Excellency went to *Antwerp*, in hopes to have found the Prince at his Camp there, between *Antwerp* and *Louvain*, where he had lain some time, expecting the advance of the Confederate Troops; but his Highness having march'd beyond *Louvain* two Days before, Sir *William* went to *Brussels*, there to desire a Guard to convey him to the Camp. Having sent his Secretary to the Count *Monterey* with his Compliments, and Desires of a Guard, the Count return'd the first very coldly, and the other with Excuses that amounted to a Refusal. The Truth was, that the *Spaniards* were grown so jealous of his Majesty's Mediation offer'd at the *Hague*, of the States and People's violent Humour to a Peace, and of the Offices they thought his Excellency might use to slacken the Prince of *Orange* in the vigorous Prosecution of their present Hopes and Designs, that he found it was resolv'd to delay first, and then to hinder any Interview between the Prince and him, till the Campaign was ended. Sir *William Temple* being sensible of this, very prudently return'd to the *Hague*, where he had long Conversations with the Pensioner, by which he gain'd the Lights necessary to discover the whole present Scene of Affairs and feel the Pulses of the Confederates, in what related to the General Peace. "His Excellency told him, "how much his Majesty was satisfied with that he "had lately made with the States, how much he "was resolv'd to continue and to cultivate it. How "much Reason he had to be content with the Posture that had left him at Peace with all his Neighbours, while they were all at War. That Advantages of Commerce from it, were enough to "make

See his
Memoirs,
pag. 35.
&c.

“ make him trouble himself no farther about the
 “ Peace of *Christendom*, if his Goodness and Piety
 “ did not prevail more with him, than his Inter-
 “ rest. But that these, and the desire of a General
 “ Good, had perswaded him to offer his Mediation
 “ on in the present Quarrels. That it had been al-
 “ ready accepted by *France*, and that the Empe-
 “ rour and *Spain* had answer’d, they would con-
 “ sider of it, in concert with their Allies. That the
 “ States Ambassadors at *London*, had assur’d his
 “ Majesty, their Masters would be pleas’d with it,
 “ and doubted not their Consent, that the Treaty
 “ should be at *London*, and that thereupon his Ma-
 “ jesty had charg’d him with a Letter to the States
 “ to offer them his Mediation. That he could
 “ not doubt their accepting it with the best Grace
 “ that could be, for he knew their Interest was to
 “ have a Peace, and not to disoblige the King.
 “ That if his Majesty were Partial to any side,
 “ they ought to believe, it would be to that where
 “ in his own *Nephew* was so deeply concern’d; and
 “ the more because he offer’d his Offices towards
 “ a Peace, at a time when the Advantage and the
 “ Preparations for the War run so high on the
 “ *French* side, as he doubted the Events might
 “ shew if it continued. That they knew his Ma-
 “ jesty’s Interest would not suffer him to see *Flan-
 “ ders* lost; and that considering what had past,
 “ his Honour would not suffer him to think of pre-
 “ serving it any other way than by that of a Peace.
 “ That he would be glad to see that Country left
 “ by the next Peace in a better Posture of De-
 “ fence, than it was by the last; and the *Spanish*
 “ Territories lie closer and rounder than they were
 “ then left. And that when this should be conclu-
 “ ded, his Majesty would be ready to enter into
 “ the strongest Guarantees they could desire, and
 “ might with Honour enter into a War to preserve
 “ it, though he would not to obtain it.

The Pensioner gave Sir *William* Thanks for his
 good Offices in the late Peace, and in all the Mea-
 sures of Friendship that had interceded between
 his Majesty and them, since the first Breach; He
 applauded

A. C.
1674

applauded the King's Resolution in so Pious and Generous an Offer; that he doubted not the States willingness to accept, all the difference would be about the time and the manner of doing it. As to this, he said, they could not do it without the Communication at least of their Allies; but would immediately give them part of his Majesty's Offer, and the States Dispositions to receive it. That for the Terms of Peace, as to their own Parts, they would be content to make his Majesty the Arbiter of it; That they had lately recover'd all the Towns they had lost, except Grave and Maestricht, the last of which was in some manner engag'd to Spain, when it should be recover'd, and for the other they doubted not to have a good Account of it very soon, Orders being already given to Invest it. But he doubted whether their Allies would be so easie in their Expectations or Demands; and that 'twas impossible for the States to leave them, who had sav'd their Country from Ruin, when two so great Kings had Invaded them; nor to break the Treaties which they had made Offensive with the Emperor, Spain, and Brandenburg. That the Terms stipulated with Spain oblig'd them to reduce France to the Treaty of the Pyrenees; but only a Reserve was made by one Article, which was, unless it should be otherwise agreed by consent between them. That whatever Spain would be content with should satisfie them, though they were both equally sensible of the Designs and Ambition of France, as well as of their Grudge to the States. That they could never hope for such another Conjunction, to reduce them to such Bounds and Measures as might be safe to their Neighbours, and give quiet to Christendom. That it was an ill time to enter into the Terms of a Peace between France and Spain, because they knew they should have ill Grace to demand the Restitution of any Towns the Spaniards had lost in Flanders by the last War, and given up by the Peace that succeeded it, and yet his Majesty knew as well as they, that without it a Peace could never be safe for Flanders, nor for Holland; nor consequently for England. But he believ'd there would not pass many Days before some decisive Action would happen between the two Armies, now not far distant in the Field, which would make room for the

Negotiation

Negotiation of Peace that might succeed next Winter, in which his Majesty would find the Interests and Humours of a Trading Country, as theirs was, very strong, and dispos'd to press their Allies, as far as was possible, to facilitate so great and so good a Work. And for the rest of the Allies, besides Spain, he had no reason to suspect any great Difficulties would arise, so little having yet pass'd in the War between France and them.

The Pensioner had reason to expect some sudden Action between the Armies; for about the middle of August was fought the Battle of Senef, between the Confederates under the Command of the Prince of Orange, and the French under the Prince of Conde. But it prov'd not an Action so decisive as was expected from two Armies of so great Force, and so animated by the Hatred and Revenge of the Parties, as well as by the Bravery and Ambition of the Commanders. The Success of this Fight was so differently reported by those that engag'd in it, that it was hard to judge of the Victory, which each challeng'd, and, perhaps, neither without great Reason. The Confederates had for some Days sought an Engagement with great desire and endeavours, and the French avoided it with Resolution not to fight, unless upon evident Advantage; whilst both Armies lay near Nivelle, and not far distant from one another. The reason of this was thought to be on one side the Ardour of the Young Prince of Orange, to make way by a Victory into France it self, and there revenge the Invasion of his Country, and at the same time to make the first Essay of a pitch'd Battle, against so great and Renown'd a General as the Prince of Conde was. On the other side, this Old Captain had too much Honour to lose, and thought he had not enough to gain, by entering the Lists with a Prince 23 Years Old, Bred up in the shade of a contrary Faction, till he was forc'd into the Field by the French Invasion of the Low-Countries. Nor was the Advantage less on the French side, in the Reputation of their Troops, than of their General, compos'd of excellent Officers, chosen Soldiers, exactly Disciplin'd, long

A. C.
1674

The Famous
Battle of
August
1674.
Sir W.
Temple's
Memoirs.

A. C.
1674.

Train'd up for Action before they began it, and now
 flesh'd by the uninterrupted Successes of two Wars.
 Whereas the *Dutch* Troops, when the Prince of
Orange enter'd upon the Command of them, were
 old or lazy Soldiers, disused with long Peace, and
 disabled with young unskillful Officers, (chosen up-
 on no other Merit than that of Faction against the
 House of *Orange*) then fill'd up, when the War
 broke out with hasty, and undistinguish'd Levies,
 and disheartn'd with perpetual losses of Towns,
 and defeats of Parties, during the two first Cam-
 pagnes. The Prince of *Condé* had another restraint
 upon the usual Boldness of his Nature upon such
 occasions, which was the ill Posture he had been in
 at Court since this King's Reign, and in regard
 how much more he would have to Answer for than
 another Man upon any great Misfortune to his
 Army, which must have left the way open for the
 Confederates to enter *France*, unguarded on that side
 by any strong Frontier, so as no Man knew what
 shake it might give to the Greatness of that Crown,
 with the help of great and general Discontents,
 whereof this Prince was thought to have his share.
 Upon these Dispositions in the Generals, the Battle
 was for some time industriously sought and avoid-
 ed, till the Prince of *Orange*, believing there was
 no way of coming to a General Action, but by the
 Siege of some Place, that might be thought worth
 the venture to relieve, broke up and march'd to-
 wards *Senef*, on the other side of *Bins*, his Army
 being divided and Commanded as I have said be-
 fore.

The Prince of *Condé* observing the march of the
 Confederates, which was not far from one side of
 his Intrenchments; and that by the straitness of
 Passages they were forc'd to file off in small Lines,
 staid till the Van-Guard, with a considerable part
 of the Main Body was over one of these Passes,
 when he drew out his Men and fell with great
 Fierceness upon the Rear of the *Spaniards*, broke
 them with great Slaughter, and not much Re-
 sistance, took their Baggage, and several Standards,
 and many Prisoners of Note. The Prince of
Orange

Orange upon notice of the French Attacking Prince Vaudemont, had sent three Battallions of his best Foot to their Assistance, with all the Diligence that could be, but the Spaniards already broken brought the Dutch into Disorder, and oblig'd them to retreat, being pursu'd with great Vigour, and overpower'd by the French, which was the reason that they lost several of their Principal Officers; among the rest Young Prince Maurice of Nassau was taken Prisoner.

A. C.
1674.

As soon as the Infantry of the Confederates was retired the French fell with redoubl'd Fury upon the Spanish Horse, and the Prince of Condé began to range his Army in form of Battle, commanding his Foot to march secretly under the covert of the Hedges and Bushes. The Confederate Horse were order'd to Charge them, but they found the way so hollow between the Enemy and them, that they were oblig'd to turn about to the Right, and joyn the rest of the Army. The French, observing this, turn'd to the Left, and made so much haste to Charge the Body of Horse, that Prince Vaudemont had scarce time enough to range his three Battalions, to endeavour to stop the Career of the Enemy. This onset prov'd fatal to the Confederates, for the three Commanders in chief of this Brigade were made Prisoners, with several Persons of Quality, as the Duke of Holstein, the Prince de Solms, and Monsieur de Langerac, not to mention the number of the Slain. Prince Vaudemont gave Proofs of an extraordinary Valour and great Presence of Mind; but whatever Endeavours he used to make his Men rally again, it could not be effected.

If the Prince of Condé had contented himself with this Success and Execution, he had left no dispute of a Victory; but lured on by the hopes of one more entire, and believing the Dutch, whom he esteem'd the worst Troops, would not stand, after the Spaniards and a great part of their own were wholly Routed, he followed the Chase, and drawing out his whole Army upon them, brought it to a set Battle, which was more than he Intended. In the mean time the Prince of Orange march-

A. C. 1674. Irruption into France, which was design'd this Summer, with great Confidence, by the Confederates both on this side, and that in *Alsace*, but with equal Disappointment, unless it were to *Monfieur Starenburgh*, who in the beginning of the Campaign, complaining of the Wine at the Prince's Table, the Prince told them, *He would make them Drink good Wine in Champagne before the Summer ended.* He, who lov'd it well, desir'd his Highness to be as good as his Word, was afterwards taken at the Battle of *Senef*, carried to *Rheims*, with several Dutch Officers, where sitting down to Dinner, and finding the Wine Excellent, he drank the Prince's Health, and said, *He would trust him as long as he liv'd, for he had kept his Word, and made them drink good Wine in Champagne.*

The Prince
of Orange
Besieges
Oudenarde.

* Sir W.
Temple.

Raises the
Siege.

The Prince of Orange finding no other way of Action, Decamp'd with the whole Army on the 12th of September, pass'd the River *Hayne* near *Tournay* and *Aeth*, sat down before *Oudenarde*, and had his end of drawing the Prince of *Condé* out of his cautious Marches, who came immediately to relieve it, and fight the Allies before they were ready to give any Assault to the Town. Upon the approach of the French Army the Prince of Orange call'd a Council of War, and propos'd to draw out and attack them immediately, before they had recover'd their Fatigue after their hard Days march. The *Spaniards* were content, but Count *Souches* was not to be found all that Day, or as * others relate it, would not agree to it, and so this Occasion was lost, and with such discontent among the Generals, that next Day the *Germans* left their Trenches, and march'd away about a League, and left room to the French to put what Relief they pleas'd into the Town. Upon this the Prince of Orange was forc'd to draw off with the rest of his Army, and upon Conferences with *Monterey*, as well as *Souches*, finding he should not be able to effect any thing with the *Imperialists*, his Highness resolv'd to leave the greatest part of the Dutch Forces with Count *Waldeck*, and with the rest to go himself and press the Siege of *Grave*.
And



And here began those Diffentions among the Confederates, that prov'd so fatal to them in the whole Course of the War. Yet these first Divisions were endeavour'd to be cur'd by the Emperor's recalling Count *Souches*, and Spain the Count of *Monterey*, who were both thought not to have Seconded, as they might have done, the Prince of *Orange's* Vigour in pursuing the Actions of the Campagne. His Highness having fail'd of what he purposed in favour of the *Spaniards*, was resolv'd to free his own Country from the last mark of their intended Servitude, before this Season ended. *Grave* was the last Town the *French* retain'd in the United Provinces, and had been preserv'd as a Magazine of what had been taken in the other Places, and was easily carried away when they quitted them, so as there was above four hundred Pieces of Cannon in the Town, a very full and brave Garrison, and all the Improvements the *French* were able to make to the Fortifications of the Place, though it was before counted one of the strongest the *Dutch* possess'd. It had been Invested a Month before by General *Rabenaupt*, yet the Prince found the Siege but little advanc'd at his Arrival, and the *Dutch* Soldiers so disheartned by the stout Defence from within, that nothing could have carried the Place at this Season, but the same humour of leading on his Men himself whenever they shrunk, * which can never be too much prais'd, nor too much blam'd in this Prince; because, as his Country and Allies would have had no General if they had lost him, so they would have had no Army if they had not ventur'd him. In short, by this and his usual Application and Vigour he reduc'd the Marquis *de Chamilly*, the Governour of the Place, to such Extremities, that on the 25th of October the Town was taken on honourable Terms to the Besieged, and with equal Glory to the Prince, and Satisfaction to all the Provinces. His Highness having dispos'd his Army in their Winter Quarters return'd to the *Hague* about the middle of November.

The Prince of Orange goes to the Siege of Grave, October 9. 1674. Sir W. Temple's Memoirs.

Grave taken October 25, 1674.

A. C. 1674. *Overtures of a Peace made by Sir W. Temple to the P. of Orange.* As soon as the Prince came to the Hague, Sir William Temple acquainted him with His Britannick Majesty's personal Kindness and Esteem for his Highness; his Resolution to Cultivate his present Friendship with the States, and desire to see a General Peace restor'd to Christendom, in which he intended to Act wholly in Concert with His Highness, whose Opinion as to the thing, and the Conditions most necessary for his Highness to insist on, His Majesty very much desir'd to understand as soon and as fully as he could. The Prince answer'd the English Ambassador with Expressions of Duty and Kindness to His Majesty, and Desires of a new Conjunction between the two Nations, which he thought alone could make His Majesty safe at Home and Abroad. For the Peace he said, Tho' he could make many Complaints of both Spaniards and Imperialists Conduct since their Treaties; yet the States could not with any Faith or Honour make any Separate Peace, upon any Terms that France could offer them. That a General Peace could not be made without leaving Flanders in a Posture of Defending it self, upon any new or sudden Invasion, against which no Guarantees could secure it. That Spain could not upon any Terms quit the Country of Burgundy, or Cambray, or any thing in Flanders, beyond the Treaty of the Pyrenees, unless it were Aire and St. Omer. This, his Highness said, was his Opinion; but if he might know the King's, and find it at all Consistent with the safety of his Country, and his own Honour towards his Allies, he would do all he could to bring it about, as he had already done the Point of His Majesties Mediation, which was accepted at Vienna and Madrid. Sir William Temple told the Prince: "That the King having been the Author and Guarantee of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and not having yet seen the French beaten out of any Town that was given them by that Treaty, could with ill Grace propose any thing to France beyond those Terms, unless it were upon some Equivalent. The Prince replied resolutely, 'Twere better going on with the War, let it last as long, and cost as much as it would."

That

That His Majesty might, if he pleas'd induce France A. C.
 so whatever he thought just; and could never shew 1674
 him so much Kindness, as to bring him out of this
 War with Honour. If he would not, it must go on
 till some Change happen'd in the Condition of the Par-
 ties to make the Peace necessary of one side or other.
 How it would fall out, he could not tell, and must
 leave it to God; but he thought they had as fair a
 Game as the French. That he was sure they might
 have been absolutely beaten at Senef, if Count Souches
 had pleas'd; and have had a fair Blow for it again
 at Oudenarde. That he was sure Germany could
 furnish more and better Men than France; and they
 were now in a manner united in the Common Defence,
 and he hop'd the Emperor's Councils would not be so
 betray'd as they had been; that however he must per-
 form what his own Honour, as well as that of the States
 was engag'd in to their Allies.

There was one Point more Sir William Temple A discon-
 entered into with the Prince, which was upon tented Par-
 Occasion of the many discontented Persons in Eng- ty in Eng-
 land, at the Course of the last Ministry and War, land, held
 who were suspected to have tamper'd with Hol- Correspon-
 land about raising Seditions, and perhaps Insurre- dence with
 ctions in England, if the War continu'd; and the the Prince
 Dutch Fleet should appear upon the English Coasts, of Orange.
 that were like to be unguarded the next Summer,
 by the straits His Majesty was in for Money
 to set out a Fleet. It was thought among many
 others, the Lord Shafsbury was one, that had of late
 play'd this Game, who having been as deep as any
 Man in the Councils of the * Cabal, and gone so
 far in the publick Applause of them, as in a Speech * So was
 in Parliament to have applied the Delenda Cartha- called the
 go, (Carthage is to be destroy'd) to the Interest of Ministry of
 England in the Destruction of Holland; yet when five Men
 he saw the Parliament and Nation sullen upon it, in King
Charles

II. Reign,
the first
Letters

of whose Names made up the word Cabal, that is Clifford, Arlington,
 Buckingham, Ashley and Lauderdale. These Ministers were wholly
 devoted to the Interest of France, and aim'd at making King Charles II.
 Absolute, and, as some suspected, introducing Popery.

and

A. C.

1674



and that the King could not pursue it with so much ill Humour in both, he turn'd short upon the Court, and the rest of the *Cabal*, fell in with the Popular Humour in the City as well as Parliament, Decried the present Designs and Conduct, tho' with the loss of his Chancellor's Place, which was given to Sir *Heneage Finch*, and was believed to manage a Practice in *Holland*. "Sir *William Temple* told the Prince what his Master suspected of some of his Subjects without naming any; "how much Service it would be to His Majesty to know 'em more certainly, and how kind it would be in his Highness to Discover them. The Prince was stanch, and said, *He was sure the King would not press him upon a thing so much against all Honour, as to betray Men that profess to be his Friends*. The *English* Ambassador gave His Majesty an Account of all that passed between the Prince and him, which was thought at Court both Cold to His Majesty, and Stiff to the Peace. Sir *William Temple* had no Returns or Orders upon this Matter, but about the beginning of *December*, the Lord *Arlington*, and the Lord *Offory* arriv'd at the *Hague*, tho' without any Character or shew of Business.

K. Charles

II. grown

jealous of

them, sends

my Lord

Arlington

to Expostu-

late the

Matter

with the

Prince.

My Lord *Arlington* brought Sir *William Temple* a Letter from the King, acquainting him, That he had sent him to set some Important Points right between His Majesty and the Prince, which ought not to be longer in Doubt, and recommending to him all the Assistance he could give his Lordship at the *Hague*:

The Mystery of this Journey and Affair was this: The Lord *Arlington*, who had been at the Head of those Measures that the King entred into during the Ministry of the *Cabal*, and the late War with *Holland*, found his Credit sinking with his Master upon the ill Issue of that Affair. As this Lord's Favour declin'd so the Earl of *Danby's* encreased; who succeeded the Lord *Clifford* in the Treasury, which had ever been the Lord *Arlington's* Ambition. This gave him an implacable Envy and Hatred against the Lord *Danby*, and which

no

no Offices of Friends could ever allay. He was not well in the Nation, for having had such a share in breaking the *Triple Alliance*, and making that with France for the Ruin of *Holland*, and as 'twas commonly thought for some ends more displeasing at Home; yet when the ill Humour of the Parliament had broken the Designs of the Cabal, My Lord *Arlington* follow'd so far the Earl of *Shafsbury's* Example, as to join with the Duke of *Ormond*, and Secretary *Coventry*, to perswade the King to remove the Duke wholly from Court and Business, as a means to appease the Discontents of the Nation upon some Jealousies of Popery, which the late Conduct of Affairs had rais'd. By this Advice the Lord *Arlington* had very much offend- ed the Duke; and finding himself ill with his Royal Highness, with the Parliament, and every Day declining in Favour with the King; he thought there was no way of retrieving his Credit, but by making himself the Instrument of some secret and close Measures between the King and the Prince of *Orange*. He first suggested to His Majesty the Necessity and Advantage of such a Negotiation: then that of his being imployed in it, from the Interest his Lady's Friends and Relations had in *Holland*; and tho' the profest great Friendship to Sir *William Temple*, yet he represented him as unlikely to be trusted with such a Confidence from the Prince as was requisite in this Affair, for having been so intimate with Monsieur *De Witt* in his former Embassy. He went over with all the Auxiliaries that were like to be of any Succour in this Expedition, carrying not only my Lady *Arlington*, but Madam *Beverwons* her Sister, whose Conversation was very agreeable to the Prince, Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, who pretended a great intimacy with Monsieur *Bentinck*; Dr. *Du- rel*, a Man fit to Practice Monsieur *Du Marais*, a French Minister in Credit with the Prince; and the Lord *Offory* who had a great share in his Highness's Kindness and Esteem, as well from his Marriage into the *Beverwert's* Family, as from his Personal

Sir W.
Temple's
Memoirs.

A. C. Personal Bravery, a Quality lov'd by this Prince
1674. even in an Enemy,



My Lord *Danby* had been made to Believe, that a Letter from the Prince to Monsieur *Odyck*, then one of the *Dutch* Ambassadors in *England*, had given occasion to this Journey, as if the Prince had desired some Person at the *Hague* from the King, with whom he might enter into the last Confidence; but the Prince assured Sir *William Temple* that there was no such thing, and that Monsieur *de Rivigny*, the *French* Ambassador at *London*, had more part in this Journey than he, or perhaps any body else; and that all the Endeavours us'd towards a Peace came from that side.

My Lord *Arlington*, told Sir *William Temple* at their first Meeting; "That he came over to set
"right some things between the King and the
"Prince, that he doubted were amiss, and Set-
"tle a perfect Kindness and Confidence between
"them; that to do this he must go to the bot-
"tom of the Sore, and rake into things past, which
"was an unpleasant Work, and which Sir *Willi-*
"am could not do, as having no part in the King's
"Business during that time wherein the Prince
"took his Offence at the Councils of *England*.
"That the King had chosen him for this Office,
"because he could best justify His Majesties In-
"tentions towards his Highness in the whole Course
"of that Affair. That for the Peace, tho' His
"Majesty desir'd it, yet he would not meddle with
"it, unless the Prince, of himself, made any O-
"vertures about it; but would only endeavour
"to give the Prince what Lights he could as to
"the State of things in General, and what he
"might hope from his Allies, as well as from
"France; that if the Prince made no Advances to
"him upon it, he would let it fall, and leave it
"in his Excellencies Hands. That he knew very
"well such a Commission as his might look un-
"kind, if not injurious to another Ambassador;
"and that he would not have come, if any other
"had been there; but the King, as well as he,
"reckon'd so far upon the Friendship between
"them

“ them, that they were both Confident of Sir William’s being easie in it, and giving him his Assistance. He said besides, *That after having fought the King’s Battle with the Prince, he must fight another of his own, who did not deserve the Coldness his Highness had of late Express’d to him, and when this was done, all his Business was ended. That he desir’d Sir William would, according to the Forms, bring him and my Lord Ossory the first time to the Prince, and after that he would see him no more in Ceremony, nor give his Excellency that Trouble.*

Sir William Temple told his Lordship, *He was very glad to see him, let his Business be what it would; that he should be gladder yet that the King’s Business should be done, let it be by whom it would; but much more that it might be by him; that for settling Matters right between the King and the Prince, he thought it the best Office could be done them both; that for the way he mentioned of raking into the Sore, and fighting of Battles in Defence or Justification of what was past, he knew not what to say to it; but would leave it to his own Prudence; but from what he knew in particular of the Prince’s Humour and Thoughts, whatever he did of that sort, he should be very gentle, and not go too deep, being of Opinion, That Expostulations were very apt to end well between Lovers, but ill between Friends. That he would introduce him and the Lord Ossory to the Prince, and desired no other part in his Affair, then what his Lordship thought necessary to give him.*

Sir William Temple was not the worse Entertained during the Course of this Adventure: For my Lord Arlington told him every Day what he thought fit of all that pass’d between them; and his Highness told him not only the thing but the manner of it, which was more Important than the Matter it self: For this had no Effect, but the other a great deal, and that lasted long. His Lordship told him much of his Expostulations, and with what good turns of Wit, he had justified both the King’s Part in the late War, and his own; but that upon all he found the Prince

A. C. the Prince dry, fullen and uneasy. That as to
 1674 the State of Christendom, and what related to the
 War he was engag'd in, he made him no Over-
 tures at all, nor entred further than that the King
 might bring him out of it with Honour, if he
 pleas'd, and with safety to Europe; if not, it must
 go on till the Fortunes of the Parties changing
 made way for other Thoughts.

Success The Prince on the other side, acquainted Sir
 of the Lord William Temple with what Arrogance and Insolence
 Arling- the Lord Arlington had entred upon all his Ex-
 ton's Nego- postulations with him, shewing not only in his Dis-
 tiation. courses, as if he pretended to deal with a Child, and
 could by his Wit, make believe what he pleas'd; but
 in the manner of it, as if he had taken himself for
 the Prince of Orange, and him for my Lord Arling-
 ton: That all he said was so Artificial, and giving
 such false Colours to things every Body knew, that he,
 that was a plain Man could not bear it, and was ne-
 ver so weary of any Conversation in his Life. In a
 Word, by all the Prince told Sir William Temple
 upon it, his Highness looked spighted at my Lord
 Arlington, and not very much pleased with the
 King's Intentions upon this Errand, tho' he said,
 He was sure His Majesty never intended he should
 Treat it in the manner he had, if he remembred that
 he was his Nepew, tho' nothing else.

The Pensioner and Count Waldeck, thought that
 the Bent of my Lord Arlington was, 1. To draw
 the Prince into such Measures of a Peace as France
 then so much desir'd. 2. Into a Discovery of those
 Persons who had made Advances to the Prince or
 the States of raising Commotions in England. 3. In-
 to Secret Measures with the King of Assisting him
 against any Rebels at Home, as well as Enemies
 Abroad. And, 4. Into the Hopes or Designs of
 a Match with the Duke of York's Eldest Daugh-
 ter. Tho' they said, he found the Prince would
 not enter at all into the First; was Obstinate a-
 gainst the Second; treated the Third as a Disre-
 spect to the King, to think he could be so ill be-
 lov'd, or so Imprudent to need it; and upon men-
 tion made of the last by my Lord Ossory, he took

no further hold of it than saying, *His fortunes were not in a Condition for him to think of a Wife.*

A. A.
1679.

After the first Conversations, the Lord Arlington staid near Six Weeks in Holland, either upon contrary Winds to return his Dispatches, or to carry him away; equally disappointed and discontented with the Success of his Undertaking. At his return to London, he was but coldly receiv'd by the King, and ill by the Duke of York; the latter being angry that any Mention had been made of the Lady Mary, tho' it was done by the Earl of Ossory, but whether with any Order from His Majesty or no, was uncertain.

Whatever was the Occasion the French shew'd Endeavour this Winter an extreme Desire of a Peace: A talk of a Marriage between Monsieur's Eldest Daughter, and the King of Spain was set on Foot; a Suspension of Arms was propos'd at Vienna; Practises were used to disjoint the Princes of Brandenburg and Lunemburgh from the Confederacy; and great Instances made for a Separate Peace between France and Holland, towards which they offer'd all the Advantages that could be to the States in point of Commerce, and all the Personal ones that could be desir'd by a Prince of Orange: But his Highness was unmoveable in not leaving his Allies, who likewise rejected the Overtures of Peace, tho' he began to foresee he was like to Play a hard Game with them next Summer in the Field, and perhaps harder with the People, who grew impatient of Taxes, and felt the decay of Trade.

In February the Prince went into Guelderland to Settle and Regulate the New Magistracy there, according to his Office of Stadtholder. Whilst he was there the Deputies of that Dutchy, and of the Earldom of Zutphen, by unanimous Consent made him an Offer of the Sovereignty of those Provinces, with the Ancient Title of Duke of Guelderland, and Count of Zutphen, which they said had been formerly in some of his Ancestors. The Prince told them, *He would give them no Answer upon an Affair of such Moment, without first advising* with

The P. of Orange
refuses the
Sovereignty of Guelderland,
&c.

A. C. *with the other Provinces*; and immediately Write 1675. to those of *Holland, Zealand and Utrecht*, to impart this offer to them, and demand their Advice upon it.

Nothing could more employ the Politick Heads of this time, than the Course of this Affair; some ascribing it to the Ambition of the Prince, and presaging the same Design upon the rest of the Provinces, others laying it to the Charge of his Young Counsellours; others to a Design of sounding the Humour of the Provinces, and of having the Honour to refuse it, after they should have all advis'd him to accept it, as 'twas believ'd they would do. But whether the Prince or his Friends had the Part that was commonly thought in the first Overture, 'tis certain an Interest of the Deputies and Magistrates, as well as Nobles of *Guelderland*, had a share in it too. For whereas this is the first Province of the Union, and abounds with Nobles more than all the rest, yet by reason of their Poverty from their Barren Soil and want of Trade, they are less regarded than several other Provinces. The Deputies of this Dutchy finding themselves yet less considerable since the War, which had extreamly impoverish'd their Country, thought there was no way of recovering such a Credit in the State, as suited with the Rank they held, but making the Prince of *Orange* their Sovereign; besides many of the Nobles there having Pretences for themselves or their Friends to the Military Employments, thought thereby to make their Court to the Prince upon whom those Charges depended.

In the mean time the Province of *Zealand* sent their Advice to the Prince against his Accepting of the Offer, grounding it upon the Jealousie it might raise in the other Provinces, and Inconsistence of it with the Constitutions of their Union, which left none of the Provinces at Liberty to dispose of their Sovereignty without Consent of the rest. *Utrecht* return'd their Answer with Advice to accept it; in *Holland*, Pensioner *Fagel* and Monsieur *Beverning* advis'd also the Prince not

to refuse it, but it being long before he could get the Advice of the whole Province, because of the Delays necessary in running the Circle of so many Towns, his Highness excus'd himself to the States of *Guelderland* from accepting their Offer; being perswaded that a Sovereign Prince in *Holland* would certainly and soon ruin Trade, and consequently the Riches and Greatness of that State, and leave a Prince of it without Power or Regard in the World; whereas the Princes of *Orange* in the Post they had held for four Generations, had entred into Wars and Treaties, with a Weight and Credit equal to most of the Kings of *Europe*.

At the Prince's return * to the *Hague*, Sir *Wil. March* *liam Temple* receiv'd a Letter from His *Britannick* ^{1675.} Majesty, telling him of some Advices given him, that the Prince intended to come over into *Eng-* ^{K Charles II. is Jealous of the Prince's suppos'd Design of coming over into} *land*, against the approaching Session of Parliament, and commanding that Minister to prevent it. Sir *William Temple* assur'd his Master there could be nothing of it, before he saw the Prince; but when he did, he pretended not to have had it from the King, but that he heard such a thing had been whisper'd to His Majesty. The Prince said, That Report might come from my Lord *Arlington*, who had sometimes talk'd of that Journey after the Peace should be made: That however it came he was Sorry the King should believe it; that he was His Majesties Servant, and if he could do him no Service, he would at least do him no Harm; but if the King would be otherwise possess'd, he could not help it, yet desir'd Sir *William* to assure him, there had never been any ground for such a Report. In the Afternoon the Prince came to the *English Ambassador*, and told him in great Heat, He had since he saw him, received the most Impertinent Letter from the Lord *Arlington*, that ever was upon that Subject; Treating it as a Resolution certain, and intended for raising Heats in the Parliament, and Commotions in the Kingdom, telling him, 'Twas like to prove but an ill Friendship between the King and him, if it was to be made with Cudgels, and putting him in mind, That there were some Wounds in *Holland* that would bleed still if there was not care

A. C. 1675. care taken of them. The Prince said, *He knew well enough what the Lord Arlington meant by that Expression, for he had told Monsieur Read in England, when he went over upon the first Motions of the last Peace,* That the King could make the Prince be serv'd as *De-Witt* was, if he would set himself about it. Upon this his Highness fell into a great Rage against the Lord *Arlington*, calling this Proceeding Malicious and Insolent; saying, *He would write to him what he deserv'd, but never have any thing more to do with him beyond common Forms. That since he knew not how to trust the King's Ministers, he would write to the King himself, and desired Sir William Temple to Convey his Letters so, as they might come to no other hand.*

Soon after Count *Waldeck* was sent to *Vienna* to concert the Operations of the approaching Summer. In March the Elector of *Brandenburgh* came to *Cleve*, upon the same Account, where he was met by the Prince of *Orange*, and the Marquis *de Grana* the Emperor's Envoy, and an Ambassador from *Denmark* arriv'd at the *Hague*, to try what Advantages his Master could make of this present Conjuncture, by threatening to enter into an Alliance with the *Swedes*, who began to throw off the Mask, and had declar'd in Favour of *France*. All things being thus in the highest Fermentation, a sudden Damp fell upon the whole Mass of these great Affairs by the Sicknes of the Prince of *Orange*; which shew'd him to be the Master-Spring that set all the other Wheels a going; for while his Illness continu'd, all was in Suspence, and none of the Parties engag'd seem'd to have other Motions or Sentiments, than what were rais'd by the Hopes and Fears of so Important a Life. After some days Fever, the Small Pox appear'd, which had been very Fatal to that Family, in the Person of his Father and Mother, and gave the greater Apprehensions to his Friends, his Country, and his Allies. But by the Care and Prudence of an able Physician; the Assistance of some Remedies which the Elector of *Brandenburgh* sent him, and the great Evenness of his Temper, and Constancy

*The P. of
Orange
falls Sick
of the
Small-Pox.*

Rancy of Mind, which gave way to no Impressions or Imaginations that use to be of so ill Consequence in that Disease, it past without any bad Accidents, and within Twenty Days his Highness went Abroad and fell into the present Business of the State. From this Fit of Sicknes we may Date that intimacy and particular Affection which his Highness ever shew'd to Monsieur *Bentinck*, then Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, who upon this Occasion signaliz'd his Love for his Master by the apparent Hazard of his own Life. For he tended the Prince during the whole Course of his Disease, both Night and Day; nothing he took was given him, nor he ever removed in his Bed by any other Hand; and his Highness said afterwards, *That whether Monsieur Bentinck slept or no he could not tell; but in Sixteen Days and Nights, he never call'd once but that he was Answer'd by him as if he had been awake.* The first time the Prince was well enough to have his Head Comb'd, Monsieur *Bentinck* as soon as it was done, begg'd of his Master leave to go Home, for he was not able to hold out longer; he did so, and fell immediately Sick of the same Distemper, and was in great Extremity; but recover'd just soon enough to attend his Highness into the Field, where he ever was next his Person.


In the mean time, how useless soever for the present, yet the Form of His Britannick Majesty's Mediation went on. After it had been accepted, the first Point that came to be Consider'd on, was the Place of Treaty, about which there was no small Dispute, the several Parties proposing several Places; but at last Sir *William Temple* having nam'd *Cleve* and *Nimeguen*, the latter was agreed upon.

No sooner was the Prince perfectly Recover'd but he repair'd to the General Rendezvous at *Rosendael*: On the other side the French had begun their Campaign by the Siege of *Limburgh* with one part of the Army Commanded by the Marquis *de Rochefort* whilst the King, the Duke of *Orleans* and Prince *Condé*, with the rest lay Encamp'd in

A. C.
1675:

Monsieur Bentinck's close Attendance upon the P. during his Sicknes

Nimeguen chosen for the Place of Treaty.

A. C. 1675.  a Post most convenient to oppose any Attempt of relieving it; to which purpose his Highness parting with his Army from *Duffel*, join'd the Dukes of *Lunenburg* and *Lorrain* at *Gangelt*. In all probability it had come to a Battle between the King of *France* and the Prince of *Orange*, since His Majesty, who was then at *Maestricht*, having receiv'd Advice of the Prince's March, had repass'd the *Limburgh Meuse* at *Vifet*; but after a short and weak Resistance the Town Surrendred before his Highness could approach it: For, besides some delays occasion'd by his Sickness, he began to feel here the Weight that hung about him in all the Course of this War; from the uncertain and slow Marches of the *German* Horse, and the Weakness and Disorders of the *Spanish* Troops.

Limburgh
taken by the
French.

After the taking of *Limburgh*, the King of *France* encamp'd near *Tillemont*, ravaging all the Country round about *Louvain*, *Brussels*, and *Malines*. He had a mighty Desire to make himself Master of *Louvain*, but the Prince of *Orange* and the Duke *de Villa Hermosa* observ'd him so narrowly, that he durst not undertake it; neither did either the Confederate or *French* Army seem very earnest to come to a Battle, upon the loss of which so great Consequences depended; so that about the end of *July*, the King of *France*, weary of a dull contemplative Campaign, left the Army to the Prince of *Condé*, and return'd with his Court to *Versailles*. The same Month King *Charles II.* seeing the Negotiations of the Peace laid asleep for the present, sent for Sir *William Temple*, to give an Account of all the Observations he had made Abroad, upon the present Dispositions and Conjunctions.

The Prince of *Orange* and the Prince of *Condé* watch'd one another so carefully, that they could not gain the least advantage one over the other. Not long after, the Prince of *Condé* left *Flanders* to succeed Monsieur *Turenne*, who was unfortunately kill'd in *Alsace*, and the Duke of *Luxemburgh* Commanded the *French* Army in *Flanders*; but with Orders not to Hazard a Battel, but only to have an Eye upon the Prince of *Orange's* Motions,

ons, and to cover any Town, that was like to be attack'd which he perform'd so well, that no further Action pass'd this Summer in the Netherlands, besides his Highness taking and razing of *Binch*, an inconsiderable Town. However his Highness had this advantage over *Luxemburgh*, that he hindred him from entring the Territory of *Triers*, so that after the fatal and intire Routing of *Mareschal de Cregui*, that City fell into the Hands of the Imperialists. This made so great a Change in the face of Affairs, that the King of Great Britain in a Letter to Sir *William Temple*, in September after his return to the *Hague*, order'd him to use it as an Argument to induce the Prince of *Orange* to be easie in the Business of a Peace: That it was now time for him to apprehend again the greatness of the House of Austria, instead of that of France. To which his Highness answer'd, That there was no fear of that till they should go beyond the Peace of the Pyrenees; That whenever that should happen, he should be as much a Frenchman, as he was now a Spaniard, but not before; that for his Part he could never Consent to any Treaty Separate from his Allies. That he believ'd they would be Reasonable, and if France would be so too, the Peace might be made; if not, perhaps another Campaign might bring them to Reason; and that this might have done it, if some Differences between him and the Spaniards, in the Actions propos'd, had not hindred the Successes they hoped for in Flanders; and if *Montecuculli's* Impatience to be at Vienna, and pass the Winter there upon the Factions stirring at Court, had not made him repass the Rhine, and take his Winter Quarters in the Circles of the Empire there; because if he had done it in *Alface*, he doubted his Presence with the Army might be thought necessary. After this Conference Sir *William Temple* bent all his Thoughts upon forming the Congress at *Nimeguen*, wherein he found such Difficulties as would have puzzled any States-man of less Ability than himself.

In the mean time there past a Sea-Fight between the French, Dutch and Spanish near *Messina*, where-

A. C.
1675.


in *De Ruyter*, the *Dutch* Admiral was shot in the Head by a Cannon-Ball, of which he died within few Days after, and determin'd the greatest loss to have certainly happen'd on that side, by that of the ablest Sea Commander of his Time; tho' for the rest the Advantage was not considerable of either Part in this Engagement, nor the Consequence material. On the other side the *Swedish* Affairs went very ill in *Pomerania*, which made them grow very impatient for a Peace, and for the Treaty in order to it; They declar'd they disapprov'd the *French* Pretensions rais'd to *Lorrain*, which seem'd only to obstruct it; and that they would send their Ministers to the Congress; whether the *French* came or no; and their Commissary at the *Hague* so well seconded this new Disposition of his Court, that whilst the Congress look'd Desperate, Ships and Passports were dispatch'd by the States, with the Consent of the Allies, to fetch the *Swedish* Ambassador. The Confederates were besides much animated in their Hopes, from the Dispositions express'd in a late Session of Parliament in *England*, which grew so high against the *French*, or at least upon that Pretence, against the present Conduct of His Majesty or his Ministers, that the King Prorogued them towards the end of November 1675.

The Measures that were taken towards a Peace, made the contending Parties the more Diligent in their Preparations for War. The *French* were upon their March into *Flanders*, and that King at the Head of a numerous and brave Army, threatening some great Enterprize. The Prince of Orange was also preparing to go into the Field, with Resolution and hopes of having the Honour of a Battle at the opening of the Campaign; all thoughts of the Congress Meeting, before the end of it, were laid aside, when about the middle of May, Sir *William Temple* received the *French* Passports for the Duke of *Lorrain's* Ministers, in the Form insist'd on by the Allies; and hereupon all Difficulties being remov'd, the Passports were Exchang'd by the end of May. About the beginning of July that Minister

After went to the Congress at Nimeguen, where A. C. the French and Dutch Ambassadors being already arriv'd, press'd very much for his coming, in regard Sir Lionel Jenkins the other English Mediator, excus'd himself from entring upon any Business till Sir William Temple's Arrival.

The Prince being ready to take the Field, told Sir William Temple, his Britannick Majesty's Ambassador, that before he went he must have some talk with him in private, and at leisure; and for that purpose desir'd it might be in the Garden of Houma-
slardyk. Being met at the time and place appointed, his Highness told the Ambassador, That being the only Son that was left of his Family, he was often press'd by his Friends to think of Marrying, and had many Persons propos'd to him, as their several Humours led them. That for his own part he knew it was a thing to be done at one time or other; but that he had hitherto excus'd the thoughts of it, otherwise than in General, till the War was ended. That, besides his own Friends, the Deputies of the States began to press him more earnestly every Day, and the more in that they saw the War like to continue; and perhaps they had more Reason to do it than any others. That he had at last promis'd them he would think of it more seriously and particularly, and so he had resolv'd he would Marry, but the choice of a Person he thought more difficult. That he found himself inclin'd to no Proposals made him out of France or Germany, nor indeed to any that had been mention'd upon this Occasion, by any of his Friends, but that of England. That before he concluded to make any Advances that way he was resolv'd to have Sir William's Opinion upon two Points; but yet would not ask it, unless he promis'd to answer him as a Friend, or at least an indifferent Person. Sir William telling him he should be obey'd, his Highness went on and said, That he would confess to him, That during the late Wars, neither the States, nor He in particular, were without Applications made them from several Persons, and Considerable, in England, who would fain have engag'd them to head the Discontents that were rais'd by the Conduct of the Court in that whole War, which he knew was begun and carried on quite contrary to the Humour of the Nation,

A. C. and might, perhaps, have prov'd very dangerous to the
1676. Crown, if it had not ended as it did. That all those

 Persons who pretended to be very much his Friends, were extremely against any thoughts of his Marrying in England. Their Reasons were, That he would by it lose all the Esteem and Interest he had there, and be believ'd to have run wholly into the Dispositions and Designs of the Court, which were generally thought so different from those of the Nation, especially upon the point of Religion. That his Friends there did not believe the Government could be long without some great Disturbance, unless they chang'd their Measures, which was not esteem'd very likely to be done; and upon this he desir'd the Ambassador's Thoughts as a Friend. The next was upon the Person and Dispositions of the Young Lady; for though it would not pass in the World for a Prince to seem concern'd in those Particulars; yet for himself he would tell him, without any sort of Affectation, that he was so, and in such a degree, that no Circumstances of Fortune or Interest would engage him, without those of the Person, especially those of Humour and Dispositions. That he might, perhaps, be very easie for a Wife to live with, he was sure he should not to such Wives as were generally in the Courts of this Age. That if he should meet with one to give him trouble at home, 'twas what he should not be able to bear, who was like to have enough abroad in the course of his Life: And that after the manner he was resolv'd to live with a Wife, which should be the best he could, he would have one that he thought likely to live well with him, which he thought chiefly depended upon her Disposition and Education; and if Sir William knew any thing particular of the Lady Mary in these Points, he desir'd to tell him freely.

Reasons of
Sir W.
Temple
to confirm
the Prince
in his D.
sign.

Sir William Temple Answer'd his Highness, " That
" he was very glad to find that he was resolv'd to
" Marry, being what he ow'd his Family and his
" Friends; That he was much pleas'd his Inclina-
" tions led him to endeavour it in England. That
" he thought it as much for his Interest, as others
" of his English Friends thought it was against it.
" That the King and his Highness were able to do
" one another more Good and more Harm, than
" any

“ any other Princes could do either of them, by
 “ being Friends or Enemies. That it was a great
 “ step to be one degree *nearer the Crown*, and in all
 “ appearance the *next*: That for his Friends (as
 “ they pretended) in *England*, they must see
 “ much farther than he did, to believe the King in
 “ any such Dangers or Difficulties as they imagin’d.
 “ That the Crown of *England* stood upon surer
 “ Foundations than ever it had done in former
 “ Times, and the more for what had past in the
 “ last Reign, and that he believ’d the People would
 “ be found better Subjects, than perhaps the King
 “ himself believ’d them. That it was however,
 “ in his Power to be as well with them as he pleas’d,
 “ and to make as short turns to such an end; if
 “ not, yet with the help of a little good Husband-
 “ dry, he might pass his Reign in Peace, though
 “ not perhaps with so much Ease at Home, or
 “ Glory Abroad, as if he fell into the Vein of the
 “ People. That if the Court were of Sentiments
 “ different from those of his Highness, yet his
 “ Advisers might make him a greater Compliment,
 “ in believing him as likely to reduce the Court to
 “ his, as in concluding to bring him to theirs, and
 “ if that should happen the most Seditious Men
 “ in *England* would be hard put to it to find an
 “ ill side in such a Match. That for the other
 “ Point he could say nothing to it, but that he
 “ had always heard his Wife and his Sister speak
 “ with all the advantage that could be of what
 “ they could discern in a Princess so Young, and
 “ more from what they had been told by the Go-
 “ verners, with whom they had a particular Friend-
 “ ship, and who, they were sure, took all the care
 “ that could be in so much of the Princess’s Edu-
 “ cation as fell to her share.

After two Hours Discourse upon this Matter, the
 Prince concluded he would enter upon this Pur-
 suit, and in order to it would write both to the
 King and the Duke to beg their Favour to him in
 it, and their leave that he might go over into *Eng-
 land* at the end of the Campaign: That Sir *William
 Temple’s* Lady, a Person of admirable Sense and
 Address

A. C. Address, who was then going over upon private Affairs, should carry and deliver both his Letters; and during her stay should endeavour to inform her self, the most particularly she could, of all that concern'd the Person, Humour and Dispositions of the Young Princess, in which he seem'd so much concern'd. Within two or three Days his Highness brought his Letters to Sir William's Lady, went immediately to the Army, and she suddenly after into England with those important Dispatches.

Condé taken by the King of France.
April 1676.

As also
Bouchain,
May 1676

In the mean time the Successes of the Campaign, that were expected absolutely to govern the Progress of the Treaty, ran as high to the Advantage of the French, as to the Disadvantage of the Swedes their Allies. By force of great Treasures and good Management of them, the French Magazines were always fill'd in the Winter, and they able to take the Field as soon as they pleas'd in the Spring. Whereas the Spaniards, for want of Money and Order, were incapable either to act by themselves upon any sudden Attempt, or to supply with Provisions in their March either the Dutch or Germans that came to their Relief. Their Towns were ill Fortified, and worse Defended; so that the Marechal de Cregni having block'd up Condé, the King of France parted immediately from Paris, and in less than a Week forc'd the Place to Surrender at Discretion, although the Prince of Orange was advanc'd as far as Granville to Relieve it. In May that Monarch sent the Duke of Orleans to Besiege Bouchain, being a small though strong Place, and very Considerable for its Situation between Cambray and Valenciennes, to the Defence of the Spanish Netherlands. The King with the strength of his Army Posted himself so advantageously as to hinder the Prince of Orange from being able to relieve it, or to fight without disadvantage; and the Armies continued facing one another till Bouchain was Surrendered the eight Day of the Siege. His Highness retir'd to refresh his Forces, harass'd with so hasty a March, upon so sudden Preparations; and the King of France return'd to Paris, leaving his Troops

Troops under the Marschal de Schomberg to ob- A. C.
serve the Motions of the Confederates. 1676.

The Prince of Orange being resolv'd to signalize himself by some great Action this Summer, took The Prince Measures with the Spaniards and German Princes of Orange near the lower Rhine, for the Siege of *Maastricht* *Besieges* which though the strongest of the Dutch Frontiers *Maastricht* when it fell into the Hands of the French, had yet July 1676, receiv'd all the Advantages of Modern Fortification since they possess'd it, and was defended by a Garrison of Eight Thousand chosen Men, under *Casco*, a resolute *Catalonian*, who Commanded there under Marschal d' *Estrades* Governour of the Place; but then at *Ninewen*. About the end of July the Trenches were open'd by the Prince, and the Siege carried on with such Bravery, so many and desperate Assaults for about three Weeks, that most People were Confident that it would be taken. Among the rest of the Troops that lay before the Town, the *English* under Colonel *Fenwick*, Colonel *Widdrington*, and Colonel *Astley*; to the Number of Two Thousand Six Hundred Men Petition'd his Highness to Assign them a particular Quarter, and that they might be Commanded separately, that so if they behav'd themselves like Valiant Men, they might have all the Honour, and, if otherwise, all the shame to themselves. This Request his Highness readily granted; giving them a separate Post; and they made it appear by their fierce Attacks, that they deserv'd this Distinction. Either the Prince of Orange, or the *Rhingrave* (who was design'd for Governor of the Town, as his Father had been) were ever Encouraging the Soldiers by their Presence; many of the Out-Works were taken with great Slaughter on both sides, but were supplied by new Retrenchments, and by all the Art and Industry of an obstinate Commander and brave Soldiers within. About the middle of *August* the Prince Exposing himself upon all Occasions, receiv'd a Musquet-shot in his Arm, at which perceiving those about him were daunted, he immediately pull'd off his Hat, with the Arm that was Hurt, and

A. C.
1676.



Raises the
Siege.

and way'd it about his Head, to shew the Wound was but in the Flesh, at which they all reviv'd, and his Highness went on without interruption in the Prosecution of the Siege. But a cruel Sickness falling into his Army, weakened it more than all the Assaults they had given the Town. The Forces he expected from the Bishop of *Munster*, and the Dukes of *Lunenburg*, and upon which Assurance the Siege was undertaken, came not up to Reinforce him; and the *Rhinegrave*, who, next the Prince, was the Chief Spring of this Action, happening to be wounded soon after, was forc'd to retire to a Castle in the Neighbourhood, where he died, by all which the Army grew dispirited and the Siege faint. In the mean time, Mareschal *Schomberg*, who trusted to a Vigorous Defence at *Maestricht*, had besieg'd and taken *Aire*, a Place then of considerable Strength, and after the Prince's Army was weaken'd by all the Accidents and Disappointments of the Siege, march'd with all the *French* Forces through the Heart of the *Spanish Low-Countries*, to the Relief of *Maestricht*; upon his Approach, and the Resolutions of a Council of War in his Highness's Camp, the Siege was rais'd, and with it the Campaign ended in *Flanders*.

Treaty carried on at
Nime-
guen.

From this time, the Prince of *Orange* began to Despair of any Success in this War, after such Trials of such Weakness in the *Spanish* Troops and Conduct, and uncertainty in the *German* Resolutions. 'Tis remarkable that tho' his Highness did afterwards make use of Mareschal *Schomberg*'s Counsels and Experience in his Expedition into *England*, and in the Reduction of *Ireland*, yet he still had a secret Pique against that great General, for forcing him to rise from before *Maestricht*. 'Tis also reported, That at this Siege the Prince of *Orange* gave some hard Words to Colonel (afterwards Sir *John*) *Fenwick*, which the Colonel stomach'd so much, that he ever after profess'd an Enmity to his Highness.

The Campaign being thus ended, the *French* made all the Advances they could towards the Progress of the Treaty, and they were no doubt in

in Earnest being in a Posture to insist upon their A. C. present Possessions: And having made a great Hand 1676. of this last Summer, were willing, like winning Gamesters, to give over unless oblig'd to Play on * Sir. W. by the Losers. * The Swedes were more in haste and Temple's in earnest for the Peace than any; the Dutch were Memoirs. grown Impatient for it, finding France would make P. 127. no Difficulty of any thing between them; but Denmark and Brandenburg were as violent against it, having swallow'd up in their Hopes all that Sweden had Possess'd in Germany; and the Emperor seem'd to pretend little more after the taking of Philipsburgh, besides the Restitution of Lorrain, and the Towns of Alsatia, to the Posture they were left in by the Munster-Treaty; yet they were so fast link'd both with their German Allies as well as Spain, that they resolv'd to make no step in the Treaty but by common Consent; and Spain, tho' sensible of the ill Condition of their Affairs, both in Flanders and in Sicily, yet upon a Design then hatching at Madrid, for removing the Queen Regent and her Ministry, to place Don John at the Head of the Government, had conceiv'd great Hopes to recover those desperate Infirmities, that their inveterate Disorders both in Councils and Conduct, had for a long time occasion'd; besides the Assurances they had still given them from their Ministers in England, that His Britannick Majesty would not, after all, be contented to see Flanders lost, or would be forc'd into the War by the Humour of the Parliament. For these Reasons the Allies seem'd to make no halt at all to the Congress: But about the end of September the French Ambassadors gave the English Mediators Notice, That their Master was resolv'd to recall his Ambassadors, unless those of the Chief Confederates should repair to Nimeguen within the space of a Month. This the Mediators communicated to the Dutch Ambassadors, and they to the States, who after some Conference with the Ministers of the Allies, came to a Resolution, that they would enter upon the Treaty themselves, if the Ministers of their Confederates should not repair to Nimeguen, by the

A. C. the first of November, Old Style. This Resolution
1676. had so good Effect, that the several Allies did
 upon it begin to hasten away one or other of
 their intended Ambassadors towards Nimeguen;
 (as Count Kimiski from Vienna, Don Pedro Ronquillo
 from England, where he then resided as Spanish
 Envoy) but not the Persons principally intrusted,
 or at the Head of their Embassies, nor with Powers
 to proceed further than Preliminaries; and from
 Denmark, Monsieur Heug without any News of
 Count Antoine's Preparation, who was appointed
 Chief of that Embassy; any more than of the
 Bishop of Gurke, or Marquis de los Balbaces, the
 Chiefest of those design'd from the Emperor and

Full Powers deliver'd, Novemb. the 21. 1676. Spain. Upon the Delivery of the Respective full
 Powers of the several Ambassadors into the Hands
 of the Mediators in November; the Dutch Ambas-
 sadors made several Exceptions against some Ex-
 pressions in the French and Swedish Prefaces to their
 Powers. After much Debate, they all agreed in
 the Desiring the English Mediators to draw up a
 Form of Powers to be us'd by all the Parties,
 which was done and approv'd by them all, with
 some Reserve only from the French, whether it
 would be fit to mention any Mediation, since that
 of the Pope was left out; and some Overtures
 made to the English Ambassadors, whether they
 would be Content to leave out all Mention of His
 Majesties Mediation, as well as that of the Pope.
 This they excus'd themselves from doing, the
 whole Frame of the Congress having proceeded
 from His Majesties Mediation, without any In-
 tervention of the Pope's; and the King's having
 been accepted by all the Parties which the Pope's
 had not been, but on the contrary, the very men-
 tion of it in the Powers, Declar'd against by se-
 veral of them. And by Order they received from
 His Britannick Majesty upon this Dispute, they
 Declar'd to all the Parties, That tho' his Majesty
 pretended not to Exclude any other Mediation
 that the Parties should think fit to use, yet he
 could not in any wise Act jointly with that of the
 Pope, nor suffer his Ministers to enter into any
 Com-

Disputes about the Pope's Mediation.

Commerce either of Visits or Conferences, with any of his, that might be employ'd at Nimeguen. The *Spanish* Ambassador agreed with the *French* in this one Point, of desiring either the Pope's Mediation might be mention'd in their Powers, or that His *Britannick* Majesty, in Consideration of the Peace, would suffer his to be left out; but the *Danes* on t'other side agreed with the *Dutch* in refusing to admit any Power with mention of the Pope's Mediation. There arose likewise another Difficulty from a seeming Expedient propos'd by the *Dutch*, of having from each Party several Powers granted for treating with the several Parties they were in War with, which the *French* refus'd, or to grant other Powers than for the *Dutch* and their Allies; and in these Disputes the Year 1676 ended.

The Prince of *Orange*, about the latter end of *December*, Writ very Earnestly to Sir *William Temple* to make a step for some few Days to the *Hague*: and Sir *William* finding all things without present Motion at *Nimeguen*, went thither the last Day of the Year. The first of the next having attended his Highness, they fell into large Discourses of the Progress of the Treaty, and coldness of the Parties, the affected Delays of the *Imperialists* and *Spaniards*, the Declar'd Aversions of the *Danes* and *Brandenburghers*, and concluded how little was to be expected from the formal steps of this Congress. Upon all which the Prince ask'd the *English* Minister, Whether he had heard any more of His Majesties Mind upon the Peace? Sir *William* told him, that he remembred a saying of His Majesties last Letter to him upon that Subject, which was, That he concluded from the Prince's Discourses to Sir *William*, that he had then no Mind to a Peace; that he was Sorry for it, because he thought it was his Interest to have it. That he had try'd to know the Mind of France upon it, but if they would not open themselves further of one side, nor his Highness on the other, than they had yet done, he would Content himself with performing his Part of a Mediator, and in the Common Forms. The Prince told Sir
William

A. C.
1677.



William, "This look'd very cold, since his Ma-
"jesty was alone able to make the Peace, and
"knew very well what it would come to by the
"Forms of the Congrels. That for his own Part
"he desir'd it, and had a great deal of Reason,
"both because His Majesty seem'd to do so, and
"to think it his own Interest as well as the Prin-
"ce's, and because the States not only thought it
"their Interest, but absolutely necessary for them.
"That he would, not say this to any but the King
"by Sir *William*; because if *France* should know
"it, they would, he doubted, be harder upon the
"Terms. That both *Spain* and the Emperor had
"less mind to it now, than they had at the end of
"the last Campaign, so that none of the Allies had
"a mind to it besides the States. That for his
"own Part, he should always be in the same
"Mind with them; and that if His Majesty would
"let him know freely the Conditions upon which
"either he desir'd or believ'd it might be made, he
"would endeavour to concert it the best he could
"with His Majesty, and that with all the Freedom
"and Sincereness in the World, so it might be
"done with any safety to his own Honour and
"the Interests of his Country. All which he desir'd
Sir *William Temple* to write directly to His Ma-
jesty from him.

*The Dutch
incline to
a Separate
Peace.*

Two Days after, Sir *William* had a Conference
with Pensioner *Fagel*, wherein the Pensioner told
him, *That the States not only desir'd the Peace from
their Hearts, but thought it absolutely necessary for
them; nay, that they would not insist upon a Peace
according to their Allies Pretentions, nor could he An-
swer that they would not make a Separate one.* Sir
William Temple reply'd, That was a Matter of such
Moment, as he was sure they would think of it
another Year before they did it. With this the
Pensioner began a Discourse with more Heat and
Earnestness, than agreed well with the Posture of
Health he was in, saying, *That they had thought
enough of it already, and with thinking much began
to find it was without Remedy.* Then he fell into
Expostulations with their Allies, but principally the

the Spaniards, and concluded, That tho' he should agree to a Separate Treaty with the greatest Regret that could be, yet he did not see what else was to be done, and did not know one Man in Holland that was not of the same Mind. Sir William ask'd him, "What he reckon'd would become of Flanders, after the Dutch had made their Separate Peace; because the Fate of that Country was that whereon the rest of their Neighbours were concern'd, as well as they? Monsieur Fagel, answer'd, That he believ'd, Cambray, Valenciennes, Namur, and Mons might be lost in one Summer; that after their loss the great Towns within would not offer at defending themselves, excepting Antwerp and Ostend, for which, perhaps, they might take some Measures with France, as he knew the French had offer'd Monsieur De-Witt, upon their first Invasion in 1667. Sir William Temple interrupting him, ask'd him, "How he reckon'd their State was to live with France after the loss of Flanders? And if he thought it could be otherwise than at Discretion. The Pensioner desir'd him to believe, That if they could hope to save Flanders by the War, they would not think of a Separate Peace; but if it must be lost, they had rather it should be by the last, which would less exhaust their Country, and Dishonour the Prince; that after Flanders was lost, they must live so with France, as would make them find it their Interest; rather to preserve their State, than to destroy it; That the French could make better use of the Dutch Fleets, than of the few Poor Fisher-Towns, that they should be reduc'd to, if any Violations were made, either upon their Liberties or Religion; That the King of France had seen their Country, and knew it, and said upon all Occasions, That he had rather have them for his Friends than his Subjects. That the Separate Treaty was not to be chosen, but to be swallow'd like a desperate Remedy; That for his own Part he had ever believ'd that England would cry Halt, at one step or other that France was making, and that if the English would be Content to see half Flanders lost, yet they would not all, nor Sicily neither, for the Interest of their Trade in the Mediteranean; that the

A. C.

1677.

A. C. King of Great Britain had the Peace in his Hands for 1677. these two Years past, and might have made it when he pleas'd, and upon such Conditions as he should think fit for Justice and Safety to the rest of his Neighbour's as well as himself. That all Men knew France was not in a Condition to refuse whatever Terms his Britannick Majesty resolv'd on, or to Venture a VVar with England in Conjunction with the rest of the Allies. That they had long represented all this in England by Monsieur Van Beuninghen, and offer'd His Majesty to be the Arbiter of the Peace, but not a word in Answer, and all receiv'd with such coldness as never was, tho' other People thought the English had more Reason to be more concern'd; since after a Separate Peace, the Aims of France would be more upon Italy, or Germany, or perhaps upon England.

The P. of Orange declares against it.

The next Morning Sir William Temple acquainted the Prince with his Conference with the Pensioner, and how amongst other things he said, That he saw nothing else to be done, but to make a Separate Peace, and that he knew not a Man in Holland who was not of his Mind. Thereupon the Prince interrupted him, saying, Yes, I am sure I know one, and that is my Self; and I will do it as long as I can. Sir William ask'd him, Whether he was of the Pensioner's Mind, as to what he thought likely to happen the next Campaign? His Highness answer'd, "The Appearances were ill, but Campaigns did not always end as they began. That Accidents might happen which no Man could foresee, and that if they came to one fair Battle, none could answer for the Event. That the King might make the Peace if he pleas'd, before it began; but if the English were so indifferent as to let this Season pass, for his Part he must go on and take his Fortune. That he had seen that Morning a Poor Old Man, tugging alone in a little Boat with his Oars, against the Eddy of a Sluce upon a Canal; that when, with the last Endeavours, he was just got up to the place intended, the force of the Eddy carried him quite back again; but he turn'd his Boat as soon as he could, and fell to his Oars again, and thus three

or

“ or four times whilst he saw him ; concluding
 “ this Old Man’s Business and his were too like
 “ one another, and that he ought however to do
 “ just as the Old Man did, without knowing what
 “ would succeed, any more than what did in the
 “ Poor Man’s Case.

The Result of these Conferences Sir *William Temple* very particularly represented to the Court of *England*, that His Majesty might want no Lights that were necessary upon so Nice, and yet so dangerous a Conjunction. The King answer’d him in a long Letter of his own hand, Complaining
 “ much of the Confederate Ministers in *London* Ca-
 “ balling with Parliament Men, and raising all Men’s
 “ Spirits as high against the Peace as they could ;
 “ and that they had done it to such a Degree as
 “ made it very Difficult for him to make any
 “ steps with *France* towards a General Treaty,
 “ unless the *Dutch* Ambassador would first put in
 “ a Memorial, pressing His Majesty from the
 “ States to do it, and declaring, that without it
 “ they saw *Flanders* would be lost. The Prince and
 Pensioner were both willing that the King should
 be comply’d with in Relation to the steps and
 Language of the *Dutch* Ambassador at *London* ;
 but his Highness prest Sir *William* to write once
 more to know His Majesty’s Opinion upon the
 Terms of the Peace, or else, he said, it would
 be too late, while the Season advanc’d towards
 the Campaign. Sir *William Temple* desir’d the
 Prince to Consider there would be three Weeks
 time lost, and that His Majesty would take it kinder
 if his Highness explain’d himself first. The Prince
 paus’d a while, and then said, “ To shew the Con-
 “ fidence he desir’d to live in with His Majesty,
 “ he would make no further Difficulty of it, tho’
 “ he might have many Reasons for it. That if
 “ the King had a Mind to make a sudden Peace,
 “ he thought he must do it upon the Foot of *Aix-*
 “ *la-Chappelle* ; which he would have the more
 “ Grounds for, because it was a Peace he both
 “ made and warranted. That for Exchanges he
 “ thought there should be no others propos’d up-
 “ on

A. C.

1677.



“ on it, but only of *Aeth* and *charleroy*, for *Aire*
 “ and *St. Omer*; which two last, he thought, im-
 “ ported a great deal more to *France* than the o-
 “ thers, unless they would Declare, that they in-
 “ tended to end this War with the Prospect of be-
 “ ginning another, by which they must get the rest
 “ of *Flanders*. That this was all that should pass
 “ between *France* and *Spain*, and for the Emperor
 “ and the States, that the first having taken *Philips-*
 “ *burgh* from the *French*, should raze it; and the
 “ *French* having taken *Maestricht* from the *Dutch*,
 “ should raze it too, and this whole War should
 “ pass, like a *Whirl-wind* that had ceas'd, after it
 “ had threatned much, and made but little alteration
 “ in the *World*.

Sir *William Temple* was surpriz'd to hear a Pro-
 position so on the sudden, so judicious, so short
 and so decisive, and that seem'd so easie towards
 a short Close, if His Majesty of *Great Britain*,
 should give into it. However, his Excellency ob-
 serv'd to his Highness, that he had not explain'd
 what was to become of *Lorrain* and *Burgundy*; and
 next, whether he believ'd it at all likely, that *France*
 should come to such Restitutions of what they had
 lately acquir'd, without an Equivalent? The
 Prince reply'd, “ Both were explain'd by the
 “ Terms he propos'd of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, that for
 “ *Lorrain*, *France* never pretended to keep it, but
 “ from the last Duke only. That *Burgundy* could
 “ not be parted with by *Spain*, without the *French*
 “ Restoring so many Towns for it in *Flanders*, as
 “ would raise endless Debates, and so leave the Bu-
 “ siness to the decision of another Campaign. For
 “ the Second, he said, He had Reason to doubt it,
 “ and did not believe it would be done, but by
 “ His *Britannick* Majesty's vigorous Interposition;
 “ but if His Majesty would not endeavour it, the
 “ War must go on, and God Almighty must de-
 “ cide it. That for himself, the King could never
 “ do so kind a Part, as to bring him with some
 “ Honour out of it, and upon some Moderate
 “ Terms, but if he was Content that *France* should
 “ make them Insupportable, the Allies would
 Ven-

“ Venture all, rather than receive them. And
 “ for *Holland's* making a Separate Peace, let the
 “ Pensioner, or any others, say what they would,
 “ they should never do it while he was alive, and
 “ was able to hinder it; and he would say one
 “ thing more, That he believ'd he was able to hin-
 “ der it. That if he died, he knew it would be
 “ done the next day; but when that should hap-
 “ pen, this Matter must be some others Care,
 “ and perhaps the *English* were the most concern'd
 “ to look after it. Sir *William Temple* gave an
 Account of this Discourse to his Master, and in
 the mean time, Sir *Lionel Jenkins* his Colleague at
Nimeguen, having discover'd a Secret and Sepa-
 rate Negotiation between the *French* and the *Dutch*
 Plenipotentionaries, gave Account of it to the
 Court, and receiv'd an immediate Order from the
 King of *Great Britain*, publickly to Protest against
 it, in His Majesty's Name; which however was
 prevented by Sir *William Temple's* representing
 the insignificancy of such a Protestation.

Sir *William Temple* having * receiv'd His Ma-
 ster's Answer to his Dispatches by the Prince's Di-
 rections, carried them immediately away to *Dieren*,
 and there Communicated them to the Prince. The
 King's Answer consisted of two Parts; the First,
An Offer of His Majesty's entering into the strongest
Defensive Alliance with the Dutch, thereby to secure
them from all Apprehensions from France, after the
Peace should be made; and the Second was His Ma-
 jesty's Remarks, rather than Conclusion upon the
 Terms propos'd by the Prince for a Peace. That
 he believ'd it might be compass'd with France upon the
 Exchange of *Cambray, Aire, and St. Omer*, for
Aeth, Charlery, Oudenarde, Condé and Bouchain,
 That this Scheme was what His Majesty thought possible
 to be obtain'd of France, tho' not what was to be
 wish'd.

The Prince's Countenance chang'd when Sir
William Temple nam'd *Cambray*, and the rest of the
 Towns; nevertheless, his Highness heard him
 through, and the many Nice Reasons of Sir *Joseph*

A C. *Williamson* upon the Matter, as of a double Frontier this would give to *Flanders*. After which the Prince said, he believ'd Dinner was ready, and he would talk of it when they had Din'd, tho' he would tell him now, and in few Words, That he must rather Die than make such a Peace.

After Dinner the Prince told the *English* Ambassador, "That he had not expected such a Return of the Confidence he had begun towards His Majesty. He observ'd the Offer of Alliance came to him in a Letter of His Majesties own Hand; but that about the Terms of a Peace, from the Secretary only; that it was in a Style, as if he thought him a Child, or to be Fed with *whipt Cream*; that since all this had been before the Foreign Committee, he knew very well, it had been with the *French* Ambassador too, and that the Terms were his, and a great deal worse than they could have directly from France. That in short, all must be ventur'd, since he was in, and found no other way out; and that he would rather Charge a Thousand Men with an Hundred, nay, tho' he were sure to Die in the Charge, than enter into any Concert of a Peace upon these Conditions."

Feb. 24. Sir *William* imparted to the Court of *England* what pass'd in this Interview, to which he * received an Answer from Secretary *Williamson*, which his Highness relish'd as ill as he had done the former, insomuch that he told Sir *William*, "That he was Sorry to find the King's Thoughts so different from his, and that whenever they grew nearer, he should be glad to know it. But he look'd now upon the Campaign as begun, and believ'd at the Time they talk'd, the Guns were playing before *Valenciennes*. That he saw now no hopes of a Peace, but expected a long War, unless *Flanders* should be lost, and in that Case the States must make the best Terms they could. That he expected a very ill beginning of the Campaign, and to make an ill Figure in it himself, and to bear the Shame of Faults that others would make, but if the Emperor per-

form'd

“form’d what her promis’d, the Campaign might
“not end as it began. That however, he was in, A. C.

“and must go on; adding, *And when one is at* 1677.

“*High Mass one is at it*; meaning one must stay

“till ’tis done, because the Crowd is so great one

“can’t get out. After this Interview, which pass’d

at *Sesfide*, one of the Prince’s Houses, his High-

ness went immediately awa-

Sh *William Temple* return’d

most of the Preliminaries

the Pope’s Mediation reject

King of *Great Britain* only a

yet all Negotiations seem’d

to continu’d till towards the end of *April*.

Whilst the Plenipotentiaries at the Congress, were contending about Trifles, and amusing one another with the Ceremonial, the Essential Parts of the Treaty were warmly Disputed with Fire and Sword in the Field. France had in the beginning of the Year, notwithstanding the Rigour of the Season, overrun all the Country about *Valenciennes*, *Cambray*, and *St. Quer*, and in a manner Block-ed up these three important Places, openly boasting that they would make themselves Masters of two of them before the *Spaniards* were in a Condition to take the Field. About the end of *February*, having provided sufficient Magazines for the Subsistence of their Forces, they began to penetrate into *Flanders*, and into those Parts of *Germany* on t’other side of the *Rhine*, where they made their first Essay of burning and spoiling defenceless Towns and Villages, which they have since improv’d to so dreadful a Degree. The Confederates complain’d to the King of *England* of this new manner of making War, who employ’d his Offices to hinder such Unchristian Devastations, while a Treaty was on Foot under his Mediation; but the thing was done, and the *French* had gain’d their Point, which was by an absolute ruin of the Country to cut off the *Imperialists* from all Subsistence, if they should March into *Alsacia*, and by that means divert those Troops that *France* resolv’d to employ in the *Netherlands*, before the *Dutch* could leave

A. C. leave their Winter Quarters, and March to the
1677. Relief of those Places they intended to Besiege.

~~~~~ About the beginning of March the Duke of *Luxemburgh* and Count *de Montal* invested *Valenciennes*, with an Army of between Fifty and Sixty Thousand Men. Four Days after the King of *France* came in Person to the Camp, and by his Presence so animated the Troops, that in few Days the Town was carried by a General Assault; notwithstanding the Difficulties occasion'd by the Season, and a Gallant Defence of a numerous Garrison, Commanded by the Marquis *de Risburg*, Brother to Prince *d'Epinoi*. From *Valenciennes* the French King march'd with a mighty Army; and laid Siege to *Cambray* with one part of it, and to *St. Omer* with the other, under the Duke of *Orleans*. In few Days, from the opening of the Trenches, the Lines of Circumvallation were finish'd, and the King commanded an Assault to be made on the two Half-Moons on the Castle side, which the French having soon made themselves Masters of, they immediately began to undermine the Ramparts. This put the Besieg'd into such a Consternation, that they desir'd to Capitulate, and Surrendered the Town of *Cambray* upon Articles; but the Cittadel held out for some Days longer, the Governour having taken Advantage of the Cessation of Arms to provide for its Defence.

The Town of  
*Cambray*  
taken.

In the mean time the *Dutch* having receiv'd their Payments due from *Spain*, and finding the French prosecuted their Design upon *Flanders*, whilst the Negotiations of Peace serv'd only to make the *Spaniards* more remiss in their Preparations, resolv'd to go on with another Campaign, being kept up to this Resolution by the Prince of *Orange's* pressing them to the Observance of their Treaties, and pursuit of their Interest, in the Preservation of the *Spanish Netherlands*. Upon the first Motion of the French, the Prince began to prepare for that of his Troops likewise, and prest the *Spaniards* to have theirs in readiness to join him; and with all imaginable Diligence provided for the Subsistence of his Army in their March thro' *Flanders*, which the

*Span-*

*Spaniards* had taken no care of. But with all the Endeavours and Application that could be us'd, his Highness could not come to the Relief either of *Valenciennes* or *Cambray*, but with part of the Forces of the States alone, and without either Troops, or so much as Guides furnish'd him by the *Spaniards*, he march'd directly towards *St. Omer*, fully resolv'd to raise that Siege with the hazard of a Battle, at what disadvantage soever. The Duke of *Orleans* leaving a small part of his Troops to defend his Trenches before *St. Omer*, marched to meet the Prince of *Orange*, and upon the Way was reforc'd by Monsieur de *Luxemburgh*, with all the Forces the King of *France* could spare out of his Army, leaving only enough to carry on the Attacks before the Cittadel of *Cambray*. These Armies encountred, and Fought with great Bravery and Resolution at *Montcassel*, where after a sharp Dispute, the first Regiment of the *Dutch* Infantry began to break. The Prince, perceiving their Disorder, went immediately to that part where the Shock began, rally'd them several times, and renew'd the Charge, but at last was quite born down by the plain Flight of his Men, whom he was forc'd to resist like Enemies. He fell in among them with Sword in Hand, and cutting the first cross the Face, cry'd out aloud, *Rascal! I'll set a Mark on thee at least, that I may hang thee afterwards.* Voice nor Action, Threats nor Example could give Courage to Men that had already lost it; and so the Prince was forc'd to yield to the Torrent of these Runaways, that carried him back to the rest of his Troops, which yet made a stand; with whom, and what he could gather of those that had been routed, he made a Retreat, that came little short of a glorious Victory. However the Natural Consequence of this Battle was, the Surrender of *St. Omer*, and the Cittadel of *Cambray*, and a more eager desire in the United Provinces after the Conclusion of the Peace, seeing the *Spaniards* were so negligent in the Defence of their own Territories; and that they conceiv'd no great hopes of a Conference that had been held at *Wesel*, between the

A. C.

1677.

*Battle of*  
*Montcassel*, April  
11. 1677.  
N. S.

*St. Omer*  
*taken by*  
*the French*  
Apr. 20.

Elector

**A. C** 1677. *Electors of Brandenburg, the Danish Ambassador, Pensioner Fagel, Admiral Van Trump, and several Envoys of German Princes, concerning the Operations of the Campaign on the side of Germany. After the taking of those Places and a Battle won, the French thought it Prudence to Play a saving Game, and to act on the Defensive all the rest of the Summer.*

In the mean time the *Spaniards* Reasoning only from what they thought the Interest of their Neighbours, which is generally a fallacious Argument in Politicks, supinely abandon'd to their Care the Preservation of *Flanders*. They knew *Holland* would save it if they could; and *England*, they were sure could, if they would; and believ'd would be brought to it at last by the Increase of the Danger, and the Humour of the People. In this Presumption they were fondly entertain'd by their Ministers then in *England*, *Don Bernardo de Salinas* Envoy from *Spain*, and *Fonseca* Consul there, who very industriously fomented the Heats that began about this time to appear in the Parliament, upon the Successes of the *French* Arms both in *Flanders* and *Sicily*; which mov'd them, about the end of *March*, Earnestly to desire His Majesty to put a stop to them, before they grew dangerous to *England*, as well as to their Neighbours. *Don Bernardo de Salinas* told some of the Commons, that the King was incensed at this Address, calling the Authors of it, a Company of Rogues, which made a great Noise in the Lower-House. The King resented it as a piece of Malice in *Salinas*, or at best a Design to inflame the Commons, and Order'd him to depart the Kingdom within certain Days. Nevertheless about a Month after the Parliament Address'd the King upon the same Score, desiring his Majesty to enter into an Offensive and Defensive Alliance with the United Provinces, for opposing the Career of the Conquering Arms of *France*. This the King receiv'd as an Encroachment on his Prerogative, made them an Angry Answer, and prorogu'd them the Week following.

However the King of France observing every Motion both of his Friends and Enemies, and more particularly the Temper of the English Parliament, had so much Regard to the Jealousies rais'd both in England and Holland, of his designing an intire Conquest of the rest of Flanders, that His Majesty, after having gain'd these three considerable Frontier Towns in the Spring, and dispos'd his Army into Quarters of Refreshment, went to Dunkirk, from whence he sent the Duke of Crequi to Compliment K. Charles II. and carry him a Letter containing in Substance, *That to shew he had no intention to Conquer Flanders, but only to make a General Peace, he was contented notwithstanding the great Advantages and Forces he had at present, to make a General Truce for some Years, in Case his Allie, the King of Sweden, would agree to it; which he desir'd His Majesty to inform himself of, since he had not Convenience of doing it, for want of Liberty of Couriers in- to Sweden.*

*The King of France proposes a Truce.*

*Sir W. Temple's Memoirs. p. 263.*

There were various Constructions made of this Letter, and it was generally look'd upon as a Politick fetch of the French King, to put His Britannick Majesty upon waving the Declaration, which his Parliament so urgently prest him to. At Nimwegen the French Ambassadors made a great shew of it among the several Ministers there, till they found it had an Effect contrary to what was intended, and was taken by all for too gross an Artifice. Monsieur Beverning, the Dutch Plenipotentiary, tho' of all others the most forward for a Peace, yet resented it to that Degree, that he said openly, *That the French were to be commended, who never neglected any thing of Importance, nor so much as of Amusement. That France had given their Blow, and now would hinder their Allies from giving theirs. That the Reserve of Sweden's Consent was an easie way of avoiding the Truce, if the Allies should accept it; that this it self could not be done because Flanders would be left so open, as to be easily swallow'd up by the next Invasion, having no Frontier on either side. That the Towns now Possess'd by France, would in the time of a Truce, grow absolutely French, and so the harder*

1677. *Advances of the Dutch towards the Peace.* A. A. *harder to be restor'd by a Peace or a War. That, for Part, he desir'd the Peace, contrary to the Politicks of Monsieur Van Beuninghen, and the other Ministers of Allies in England, affirming always, that notwithstanding all their Intrigues and Intelligences there, he, Monsieur Beverning, was assur'd, That His Britannick Majesty would not enter into the War to save the last Town in Flanders.* In pursuance of this Confidence of him he follow'd all the ways imaginable towards Peace, and by such steps as some thought forwarder than his Commission, and very ill concern'd with those of the Allies; so that about July all Points were adjusted between the *French and Hollanders*; and Monsieur Beverning began to act the Part of something more than a Mediator, pressing on his Allies towards a Peace, with great Earnestness, not to say Roughness; tho' but with very small Effect; for there was little more done of any Moment towards it the rest of this Summer, save the Messages that past to and fro about the Business of the Duke of Lorrain.

In the mean time the Ministers of the Confederates made great Instances in *England*, that His Majesty would recal his Troops that were in the *French Service*, attributing most of their Successes in *Germany* to the Bravery of those *English Regiments*. But His Majesty excus'd it upon the equality of Mediator, since there were likewise *English Troops* in the Service of the Allies, who took this Answer, however, for an ill sign of the Prosecution which they hoped from His Majesty for the Support of their Languishing Affairs. The Expectation of those great Actions promis'd by the Imperialists this Campagne upon the *Rhine*, began to wear out, their Troops finding no Substance in those Countries, which had been wholly ruin'd by the *French* in the beginning of the Year to prevent their March: The Prince of *Orange* reflecting on all these Circumstances, and foreseeing no Resource of the Confederates, unless from the King of *England*; and that he was like to spend the rest of the Summer in *Flanders* in Marches and Countermarches, the *French* resolving not to hazard

ward another Battle, and he not able to sit before a Town, and oppose a *French* Army that should come to relieve it, His Highness sent Monsieur *Bentinck* over into *England*, about the beginning of *June*, to desire his *Britannick* Majesty's leave that he might make a Journey thither, so soon as the Campaign ended, both to pursue his intended Marriage, and to concert Measures with His Majesty to bring *France* to reasonable Terms. The King return'd him a civil Answer, but with wishes, that he would first think of making the Peace, and rather defer his Journey till that were concluded.

About the middle of *July* Sir *William Temple* went over to *England*, being recall'd by King *Charles*, to enter upon the Secretary of State's Office, which Mr. *Coventry* had offer'd His Majesty to lay down, upon the payment of Ten thousand Pounds. When he came to Court, the King fell often into Conversation with him, and generally in his Closet alone, or with none other present besides the Duke of *York* and the Lord Treasurer. The Subject of these Discourses were usually the Peace, and the Prince of *Orange's* Journey into *England*. The King always exprest a great desire for the first, but not at all for the other till that was concluded. He said, "His Parliament would never be quiet, nor easie to him while the War lasted abroad; That they had got it into their Heads to draw him into it, whether he would or no. That they pretended publick Ends and Dangers from *France*, and there might be both meant by a great many honest Men amongst them; but the Heats had been rais'd by some Factious Leaders, who thought more of themselves, then of any thing else; and had a mind to engage him in a War, and then leave him in it, unless they might have their Terms in removing and filling of Places; and he was very loath to be so much at their Mercy. That besides he saw the longer it continued, the worse it would be for the Confederates; and therefore he would fain have the Prince make the Peace for them, if they would not do it for themselves



A.C.

1677.



“ selves. That if he and the Prince could fall in  
 “ to the Terms of it, he was sure it might be  
 “ done. And after several Conversations upon this  
 Subject, the King told Sir *William Temple*, He had  
 a great mind that he should try if he could per-  
 swade him to it. Sir *William* represented to His  
 Majesty, how often he had been employ’d upon  
 this Errand to the Prince; how immoveable he  
 had found him, and how sure he was to find him  
 so still, unless the King would consider of another  
 Scheme for the Peace; That his Majesty would do  
 well to try another Hand, and he would the bet-  
 ter know the Prince’s mind, if his Answers were  
 the same to both. The King said, “ It was an  
 Affair of Confidence between him and the Prince,  
 and must be so treated: and he knew no body  
 he had besides to send. Sir *William* told the King, if  
 he pleas’d he would name one. His Majesty bid  
 him, and he named Mr. *Hide*, whose Choice was  
 approv’d by the Duke of York, the Lord Treas-  
 urer, and the King himself. Mr. *Hide* was dispatch’d  
 away accordingly, but found the Prince resolute  
 in the business of the Peace, upon the Terms he  
 had propos’d to Sir *William Temple*.

The Prince  
 of Orange  
 makes a  
 vain At-  
 tempt upon  
 Charleroy

Towards the end of July the Prince of Orange  
 sat down before Charleroy, and would have besieg’d  
 it in form, if, as it had been concerted, the Duke of  
 Lorraine could have diverted the French Army from  
 relieving it. But Monsieur *Luxemburgh*, with great  
 diligence, leaving the Marechal de Cregui with  
 Force enough to Face that Duke, assembled a great  
 Army for the Relief of Charleroy, upon approach  
 whereof his Highness call’d a Council of War to  
 resolve, whether to march and fight the Enemy,  
 or raise the Siege? The last Opinion prevail’d,  
 and was accordingly executed, and therewith ended  
 this Campagne in Flanders. But this Retreat of  
 the Prince pass’d not without many Reflections,  
 not only from the Spaniards, but the Dutch also,  
 as if his Highness had given over the Design upon  
 some Intelligences between him and the King of  
 Great Britain, my Lord *Ossory* happening to arrive  
 in the Camp the day before the Council of War,  
 upon which the Siege was rais’d.

The



The Campagne being thus ended the Prince of A. C.  
*Orange* return'd to the *Hague*, accompanied by the 1677.  
 Lord *Ossory*, Don *Carlos*, the Duke of *Albemarle*,  
 and several other Persons of Quality, and about *The Prince*  
 the middle of *October*, at the pressing Instances of *of Orange*  
 his Friends, rather than upon the faint Invitation *Lands at*  
 of King *Charles II.* Embark'd for *England*, with a *Harwich*,  
 Noble Retinue and Magnificent Equipage. His *October*  
 Highness, like an eager Lover came Post from *Har-* 19. N. S.  
*wich* to *New-Market*, where the Court then was, 1677.  
 at a Season and Place of Country-sports. The  
 Lord *Arlington* receiv'd the Prince at his Alighting,  
 making his pretence of the chief Confidence with  
 him. The Lord Treasurer and Sir *William Temple*  
 went together to attend him, and he whisper'd to  
 them both together, saying to Sir *William*, *That he*  
*must desire him to answer for him and the Lord Treasu-*  
*rer one to another, so as they might from that time enter*  
*both into Business and Conversation, as if they had been*  
*of a longer Acquaintance.* This was a wise strain of  
 Policy, considering the Lord *Danby's* Interest in  
 the Court at that time, and prov'd of great use to  
 the Prince in the Course of his Affairs then in  
*England*; and though it much displeas'd the Lord  
*Arlington* and his Friends, yet it could not be won-  
 dered at by such as knew what had past between  
 the Prince and him. His Highness was very kind-  
 ly receiv'd by the King and the Duke of *York*,  
 who both invited him often into Discourses of  
 Business, which they were surpriz'd to see him  
 decline industriously, so as the King order'd Sir  
*William Temple* to find out the reason of it. His  
 Highness told Sir *William*, he was resolv'd to see  
 the young Princess before he enter'd upon any  
 Conferences about the Peace or War. The King  
 laugh'd at this nice piece of Gallantry; but how-  
 ever to humour his Highness in it, he left *New-*  
*Market* some days sooner than he had intended.

The Prince upon his arrival at *London*, and  
 sight of the Lady *Mary*, was so charm'd with her  
 Person, and all those signs of such a humour as  
 had been described to him upon former enquiries,  
 that he immediately made his Suit to the King and  
 the

A. C. the Duke of York. His Royal Highness was extremely cold upon the Proposal, which was very well receiv'd and assented to by His Majesty but with this Condition, That the Terms of a Peace abroad might be first agreed on between them. The Prince excus'd himself, and said *He must end his first Business before he began the other.* The King and Duke were both positive in their Opinion, and the Prince resolute in his; and said at last, *That his Allies, who were like to have hard Terms of the Peace, as things then stood, would be apt to believe that he had made this Match at their Expence, and for his part he would never sell his Honour for a Wife.* Nevertheless the King remain'd so firm for three or four days, that the whole Business was like to break upon this Punctilio. About that time Sir William Temple went to the Prince after Supper, and found him in very ill humour. His Highness told him, *He repented he ever came into England, and was resolv'd to stay but two Days longer, if the King continued in his Mind for Treating upon the Peace before he was Married; but that before he went he must chuse how they should live hereafter; for he was sure it must be either like the greatest Friends, or the greatest Enemies: and desir'd Sir William to let His Majesty know so next Morning, and give him an account of what he should say upon it.* Accordingly Sir William Temple told the King all the Prince had said to him the Night before, and represented to his Majesty the ill Consequences of a Breach between them, considering the ill Humour of so many of his Subjects upon his late Measures with France, and the Invitations made his Highness by several of them, during the late War. The King heard Sir William with great Attention, and then said, *Well, I never yet was deceiv'd in judging of a Man's honesty by his looks, and if I am not deceiv'd in the Prince's Face, he is the honestest Man in the World, and I will trust him, and he shall have his Wife, and you shall go immediately and tell my Brother so, and that 'tis a thing I am resolv'd on.* Sir William Temple did so, and the Duke at first seem'd a little surpriz'd, but then said, *The King should be obey'd,*

obey'd, and he would be glad all his Subjects would learn of him to obey him. From the Duke of York Sir William Temple went to the Prince of Orange, who was so transported with this unexpected News, that embracing him he told him, *He had made him the happiest Man in the World.* Immediately after Sir William gave an account of what had pass'd to the Lord Treasurer, who took upon him to adjust all the rest between the King, the Duke, and the Prince; and indeed he conquer'd so effectually the Duke's Unwillingness, by an enlargement of his Revenue, settled upon the Post-Office, that the Match was declar'd that Evening at the Committee. (before any other in Court knew any thing of it) and next \* day in Council; and receiv'd there, and every where else in the Kingdom, with Universal Joy. The French Ambassador and the Lord Arlington appear'd the two only Persons unsatisfied upon it at Court; the first not knowing how to Answer it to his Master, that an Affair of that Importance should be transacted without his Advice, or indeed so much as his Knowledge, in a Court where nothing before had done so for many Years; and the Lord Arlington, that it should pass without his Communication, who first endeavour'd to keep up the Court in the Belief of his Confidence with the Prince. After this the whole Council went in a Body to Compliment the Lady Mary, and afterwards the Prince; the rest of the Nobility did the same after their Example.

A. C  
1677.  
*The Match between the Prince of Orange and the Lady Mary declar'd, Novem. 1.*

The Prince of Orange immediately dispatch'd away an Express to the States, to acquaint them with what had pass'd, expecting their Approbation of the Match with all speed, that he might the sooner repair to them for the Service of their Country. Thereupon the States General Assembled, and having maturely weigh'd the Advantages which might accrue to their State from this Marriage, as for Instance, a Confirmation of the Union between England and Holland; the Establishment and Illustration of the House of Orange, and the Conclusion of the Peace so earnestly desir'd; over and above the happy choice his Highness had

**A. C.** made of a Princess, every way Accomplish'd, express their Approbation by a Publick Edict, in  
**1677.** Terms full of Joy and Satisfaction; declaring, moreover, the mighty Esteem they had for so Glorious an Alliance, and their sincere and firm Resolution to cultivate the ancient Friendship and good Correspondence which was between his Britannick Majesty and them.

*The Marriage is Consummated,\**  
 Nov. 14. N. S.

This Answer arriving at London on his Highness's \* Birth-day, the Marriage was Celebrated at Eleven at Night, but with so little Noise, that the People knew nothing of it till the next Morning, when they gave all Publick demonstrations of their Joy; and immediately after the King, Duke and Prince fell into the Debates upon the Terms of the Peace; to which, as to that of the Match, none but the Lord Treasurer and Sir William Temple were admitted. "The Prince insisted hard upon the strength and enlargement of a Frontier on both sides of *Flanders*, without which *France*, he said, would end this War with the Prospect of beginning another with more Advantage and Surprise, after the breaking the present Confederacy. That their Ambition would never end till they had all *Flanders* and *Germany* to the *Rhine*, and thereby *Holland* in an absolute dependence upon them, which would leave them in an ill Condition, and *England* in no good one; and that *Christendom* could not be safe without such a Frontier as he propos'd in *Flanders*, and the Restitution of *Lorraine*, as well as what the Emperor had lost in *Alsatia*. The King was content to leave that Business a little loose, upon the Confidence that *France* was so weary of this War, that if they could get out of it with Honour, they would never begin another in this Reign; That the King of *France* grew past his Youth and Lazy, and would turn to the Pleasures of the Court, and Building, and leave his Neighbours in quiet. Upon this Sir William Temple told the King: That in the Course of his Experience of the World, he had never observ'd Men's Natures to alter by Age or Fortunes; but that a good Boy made a good Man

*Man, and a young Coxcomb an old Fool ; and that quiet A. C. Spirits were so, young as well as old, and unquiet ones 1677. would be so old as well as young ; That he believ'd the King of France would always have some Bent or other, sometimes War, sometimes Love, sometimes Building ; but that he was of the Prince's Opinion, that he would never make Peace but with a design of a new War, after he had finish'd his Conquest by the last ; in which Opinion his Majesty seem'd to concur. The Points of Lorrain and Alsacia were readily agreed to by the King and the Duke of York, but they would not hear of the County of Burgundy, as what France would never part with ; though the Prince insisted much upon it, so as the King thought his Highness was touch'd by the Interest of his own Territories there ; and thereupon told him, " That for his Lands he " would charge himself with either his enjoying " them as safely under France as Spain, or if he " was rather willing to part with them than have " that dependance, he would undertake to get him " what Price he should himself value them at. But He answer'd generously, That he should not trouble Scheme of a himself nor the Peace about that Matter, and that he Peace a- would be content to lose all his Lands, to get one good greed on by Town more for the Spaniards, upon the Frontier of King Char- Flanders. So that all Difficulties seem'd to center les II. and in what was thought necessary on that side. This the Prince occasion'd great Debates between the King and of Orange, Prince ; One pretending France would never agree to one Scheme, and t'other that Spain would never consent to the other. Upon the whole matter it was resolv'd, that the Peace should be made upon these Terms, All to be restor'd by France to the Empire and Emperor, that had been taken in the War ; the Dutchy of Lorrain to that Duke, and all on both sides between France and Holland ; and to Spain the Towns of Aeth, Charleroy, Oudenarde, Courtray, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, St. Guillaïn, and Binch. That the Prince should endeavour to procure the Consent of Spain, and his Britannick Majesty that of France. To this purpose His Majesty was to send a Person immediately over with the Proposition, who should be instructed to enter*

A. C. 1677. into no other Reasonings upon it, but demand a positive Answer in two Days, and then forthwith return. The Question was who should go? And the Lord Treasurer said, *It must be either he or Sir William Temple, none else being in the Confidence of this Affair.* The Prince said, *It must be Sir William, for the Lord Treasurer could not be spar'd:* To which his Majesty readily agreed, and order'd Sir William to be ready in two Days. The Evening before he was to go, His Majesty told him, He had reflected on his Journey and his Errand, and how unwelcom he should be in France, as well as his Message: And therefore he had been thinking of sending another Person. Sir William told the King, "He never had less mind to any Journey in his Life, and that he would do him the greatest Pleasure in the World to send another. Thereupon the King ask'd him, what he thought of the Lord Duras? Sir William said, *Very well;* upon which His Majesty seem'd to resolve it, though the thing had been already agreed in the Morning, upon the Duke of York's desire, who either thought France would accept the Terms, and had a mind to have the Honour of the Peace, by sending a Servant of his own; or, as some suspected, design'd to favour the French Interest. This last Opinion seem'd to be confirm'd by the success of the Lord Duras's Embassy, who after the delivery of his Message, was prevail'd with to stay longer than his time, and, after all, came away without any positive Answer; whereby the Business came to be drawn out into so many Messages and Returns from France, that it dwindled into nothing.

The Duke of York had reason to be averse to his Daughter's Marrying the Prince of Orange, for as this Match was Treating, the Bill of Exclusion was upon the Anvil, by which the Lady Mary was to succeed to the Crown upon the Death of King Charles. Some \*Historians have advanc'd, that while this Affair was depending the Prince of Orange look'd on, without espousing any of the Parties, that struggled for or against the said Bill; but the following Passage, which I had from a Person

\* Doctor  
Welwood

Person of undoubted Sincerity, seems to prove the contrary. The Lord Berkley coming to see the Prince at *Arlington-House*, his Highness asked him the News. His Lordship made Answer, that he had been with some Parliament Men, who were very warm for the Bill of Exclusion, and whom, by many Arguments, he had endeavour'd to persuade against it: *And why did you so?* reply'd the Prince. These Words strangely surpriz'd the Lord Berkley, who perceiving how ill he made his Court to the Prince, by taking the Duke of York's part, turn'd the Conversation upon a more agreeable Subject. 'Tis certain that his Highness's Presence gave fresh Spirit to the *English* Discontents, and that King Charles was rid of a great Uneasiness when the Prince \*embark'd with his Royal Consort for *Holland*, where Affairs press'd his Return, beyond the hopes of my Lord Duras from *France*. The King assur'd him he would never part from the least Point of the Scheme sent over, and would enter into the War against *France*, if they refus'd it; but nevertheless his Highness went away with the Mortification, to see the Parliament Prorogued to the next Spring, which the *French* Ambassador had gain'd of the King, to keep up the Credit of *France* after the Princes's Marriage, and before the Dispatch of the Project of Peace to that Court. However the ill humour of the People growing higher upon the noise of a Peace, Negotiated in *France*, and the Prorogation of the Parliament, this was by a Proclamation Anticipated soon after the Lord Duras's Return; and a shew made as if the King design'd to enter into the War; for which the Parliament seem'd impatient whenever the King seem'd averse to it; but grew jealous of Prevarication, whenever the Court appear'd inclin'd to it. The Prince and Princess being Landed at *Terheyde*, went from thence to *Hounslardike*, where they tarried some few Days, till they made their Publick Entry into the *Hague*, which was perform'd with Extraordinary Magnificence.

The Prince  
returns to  
*Holland*,  
Novemb.  
21. O. S.  
Decemb.  
1. N. S.



A. C.

1678.



The News of the Prince's Marriage had reach'd *Nimeguen* some time before, which gave the Confederates great Hopes that the King of *England* would now Declare in their Favour. But it had quite another Effect in *Holland*, particularly in *Amsterdam*, where the French Emiffaries found the Secret of raising Jealousies of the Measures concerted between the King and Prince, upon this new Alliance, as Dangerous to the Liberty of their Country, and to make it there Believ'd, that by this Match the King and the Duke had wholly brought over the Prince to their Interest and Sentiments; whereas the Prince, went indeed away possessed of having drawn them into his; tho' they were all equally Mistaken. But how different soever their Apprehensions abroad might be of things, King *Charles* entirely receded from his Engagements to the Prince, of entering into the War with all the Allies, in case of no direct and immediate Answer from the King of *France* upon the Terms of the Peace; and contented himself to send Mr. *Thinn* over in *Holland* with a Draught of an Alliance to be made with the States, in order to Force *France* and *Spain* into a Compliance with the Scheme agreed on, and to Consign the same into the Hands of Mr. *Hide* then at the *Hague*. Accordingly the Treaty was Sign'd on the 16th of *January*, tho' not without great Difficulties, and much Dissatisfaction on the Part of the Prince of *Orange*, who was yet covered in it by the private Consent of the *Spanish* Minister there, in behalf of his Master; so that the War could not break out but upon *France*, in Case of their Refusal. This Alliance being thus Concluded, the King of *England* dispatch'd Mr. *Montague* into *France*, to press that Monarch to accept his Terms, and at the same time gave out Commissions for raising an Army; but nevertheless the French King rejected these Conditions of Peace, and made great Preparations to open the Campaign earlier than ordinary. Thereupon His Britannick Majesty recall'd the Troops he had in the Service of *France*, and having Summon'd his Parliament, Communicated to them the late Alliance

ance



since he had made with *Holland*, for the publick Benefit and Repose of Christendom, and ask'd them Money upon it for putting himself in a Posture to carry on the War, if the Peace fail'd. The House of Commons return'd His Majesty Thanks for the great Care he took of the Protestant Religion, in Marrying his Niece to a Protestant Prince, beseeching him not to Consent to any Conditions of Peace with *France*, unless they were better than those at the *Pyrenean* Treaty. To which the King having Consented, the Commons after a long Debate, resolv'd to Equip a Fleet of Fourscore and Ten Men of War, and to raise an Army of Thirty Thousand Land Men, and nam'd Commissioners to Compute the Charge. In the mean time, if an ill grounded Suspicion in *Holland* of the Prince's Conduct and ambitious Designs since his Marriage, made them uneasie among themselves, and daily more and more enclin'd them to a Peace; yet the News that came at this time of the *French* taking from them the Island of *Tobago*, besides the Death of *Binks* Admiral of *Zealand*, and the utter Ruin of that Colony, did no less sensibly affect them. But what was a more formidable Blow than all the rest, was the vast Progress of the *French* Army this Spring in the *Spanish Netherlands*. For, towards the end of *February*, his most Christian Majesty, Marching at the Head of his Forces, and carrying the Queen and the Ladies to *Mentz*, seem'd to have a Design either on *Luxemburgh*, *Namur* or *Mons*; but having drawn the *Spaniards* that way, all on a sudden, and to the no less Surprise of the *French* themselves, than of the Allies, he cross'd the Countries, sat down before *Ghent*, and notwithstanding the Difficulties occasion'd by the Season, and the Besieg'd drowning part of the Country, made himself Master both of that Town, and soon after of *Ypre*; and thereby gave a mighty Alarm to *Holland*, and strengthen'd the Credit and Endeavours of those he had already dispos'd to his Conditions of a Peace, as grown now absolutely necessary, while *England* amus'd the People with a seeming Resolution to go into the War, or at least furnish'd the

*Ghent*  
and *Ypre*  
Besieg'd  
and taken  
by the  
*French*.

**A. C.** Confederates with many such Hopes. After the 1678. taking of these two Places the King of France disposed his Armies into Quarters of Refreshment, whether he thought them sufficiently harass'd, or whether he was afraid of the *English*, who at the Desire of the *Spanish* Ambassador, had sent over considerable Forces, under the Command of the Duke of *Monmouth*, to secure the Important Town of *Ostend*, which the *French* seem'd to threaten.

Not long after the World was astonish'd to hear that the *French* King had entirely abandon'd *Messin*, and all *Sicily*. Some ascribed it to meer Necessity, and others to a Design of pursuing the Conquest of *Flanders* with redoubled Vigour and Application. However it was, the Parliament of *England* were of this last Opinion, and therefore to stop his Career, they petition'd the King to Declare open War against him, and granted His Majesty a Poll-Bill, Prohibiting by the same Act the Importation of all *French* Commodities. King *Charles* who was now desirous to enter into a League with the Empire, *Spain*, and the United Provinces, would oblige them to make the same Prohibition in relation to *French* Goods; but while the *Hollanders* were demurring upon the last Point, believing that such a Prohibition would ruin their Trade, an unexpected Accident fell out, that chang'd the whole Scene of Affairs.

The King of France, after his return to *Paris*, feeling his *Britannick* Majesty so warmly prest by his Parliament to enter into the War, particularly since the Prince of *Orange's* Journey into *England*, and his Marriage with the King's Niece, made a publick Declaration of the Terms upon which he was resolv'd to make the Peace, which he sent to his Ministers at *Nimeguen*, there to be distributed amongst the other Ambassadors and Mediators. The Chief of these Proposals were, That the King of *Sweden* and the Duke of *Gottorp* should be entirely satisfied. That the Prince and Bishop of *Strasbourg* should be restor'd to all his Demesns, Goods, Honours and Prerogatives; and that his Brother Prince *William* of *Furstemberg* should be set

at Liberty. That as for the Emperor he should alter nothing in the Publick Declarations that were made at the Treaty of *Westphalia*; only he offer'd either to keep *Phillipsburg* and give up *Friburg*, or else to keep *Friburg*, and give up *Philipsburgh*. That as for *Spain*, he would Restore *Charleroy*, *Aeth*, *Oudenard*, *Courtray*, *Ghent*, *Limburgh*, *Binch* and *St. Guillaïn*, with their Dependencies; but in Recompence, demanded all the *Franche-Comté*, *Valencien-nes*, *Bouchain*, *Condé*, *Cambray*, *Aire*, *St. Omers*, *Ypres*, *Wervick* and *Werneton*, *Bavay*, *Maubeuge*, *Poperin-gue*, *Bailleul* and *Cassel*, with all their Dependen-cies; in a Word, all those Places he was in Pos-session of, except those abovemention'd. Besides, he consented to Surrender *Charlemont* to the Ca-tholick King, or in Lieu thereof *Dinant* and *Beu-vines*, provided the Bishop of *Liege* and the Em-peror agreed to it. By which means the *Spanish* Frontier in the *Netherlands*, would for the Future, begin from the Sea to the *Meuse*, by *Newport*, *Dixmuae*, *Courtray*, *Oudenard*, *Aeth*, *Mons*, *Charleroy* and *Namur*. That as for what concern'd the *States General*, be-sides the Satisfaction he gave them by what he yielded up to *Spain*, he offer'd to restore *Maestricht* to them, and to agree to the Treaty of Commerce in such Form as it was fram'd at *Nimeguen* with Monsieur *Beverning*. And as for the Interests of the Duke of *Lorrain*, he was willing to Restore him according to the *Pyrenean* Treaty; or to Surrender all his Territories to him, except the City of *Nancy*, but that by way of Recompence he would give the Im-portant City of *Toul*, reserving nevertheless to him-self a Passage from his Frontiers into *Alsacia*, and the Roads that would be necessary to him from *France* to *Nancy*, and from *Nancy* to *Metz*, *Brisac* and the *Franche-Comté*.

These Terms of Peace, tho' very different from those agreed between His Britannick Majesty and *Holland*, and more from the Pretensions of the Allies; yet having, as to what concern'd *Spain* and *Hol-land*, been privately agreed with some Leaders of the Principal Towns, prov'd indeed the Scheme of

**A. C.** of the Peace, both for the Dutch, and all the o  
**1678.** ther Confederates engag'd in the War. And here  
 the French began their Imperious way of Treating,  
 which they afterwards pursued in the whole Ne-  
 gotiation of the ensuing Peace, Declaring, *These*  
*were the lowest Conditions the King of France would ad-*  
*mit, and upon which his Enemies might make Choice*  
*either of War or Peace; and to which he pretended to*  
*be tied no longer than to the 10th of May, after which*  
*he would be at Liberty to Change or Restrain them, as*  
*he should think fit.*

The Imperialists, of all others, seem'd the least inclinable to accept the foregoing Conditions; and the Point of requiring full Satisfaction to Sweden, was insupportable to the Northern Princes; nay, the Spaniards and the Confederates look'd upon them so hard, that they said, They would Hazard all, rather than Submit to them. When the French Ambassador carried those Proposals to Sir Lionel Jenkins, then Sole Mediator, in Order to be Communicated by him to the Ministers of the Allies, he made Answer, He could not do it as a Mediator, but that he would acquaint the Parties with them in Discourse, as a Matter to which he promis'd no Answer. This he did because of the other Terms that had already been agreed on in January, between England and Holland, for forcing France and Spain to a Compliance; which tho' they prov'd of little use in the Course of this War, yet they made the French apprehensive, that His Britannick Majesty might at last fall into the War in good Earnest, and thereupon abandon'd Messina and Sicily, to Reinforce their Armies on the Rhine, and in the Netherlands.

**K. Charles**  
**II. tempted**  
**with Mo-**  
**ney by**  
**France.**

To prevent the formidable Conjunction of the King of England with the rest of the Allies, the French made use of an Argument which was most likely to prevail with a Prince, whom his Expensive Mistresses, and parsimonious Parliament kept in constant Want: For Monsieur de Louvois in a long Conversation he had with Mr. Montague, His Britannick Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, represented to his Excellency, "The Measures they  
 " had

" had already taken for a Peace in *Holland* upon  
 " the *French* Terms; that since they were agreed  
 " there, they hoped the King of *England* would not  
 " be against it; that however his Master had or-  
 " der'd him to make His *Britannick* Majesty the  
 " offer of a great Sum of Money for his Consent;  
 " tho' to a thing already accepted by *Holland*,  
 " and wherein His Majesty was consequently not  
 " concern'd. The violent Dispositions of the *Dutch*  
 to run into a Peace at this time, whatever came  
 of it, and such a fatal and mutual Distrust as there  
 was; both in Court and Parliament, seem'd to  
 justify the King's accepting this profitable Propo-  
 sal, who said, That since the *Hollanders* would  
 have a Peace upon the *French* Terms, and that  
*France* offer'd him Money for his Approbation of  
 what he could not help, he knew no Reason why  
 he might not get the Money, and so required Sir  
*William Temple* to treat with the *French* Ambassa-  
 dor about it. But that Worthy Patriot, out of a  
 just Tenderness of the King's Honour declin'd to  
 enter into this opprobrious Negotiation with the  
*French* Ambassador, who came to see him for that  
 purpose, and immediately retir'd into the Coun-  
 try.

A. C.  
 1678.

The Tenth of *May*, being the time limited by *The Dutch*  
 the *French* Project of Peace, for the Allies to ac-  
 cept of the Terms or no, Monsieur *Beverning* the  
*Dutch* Plenipotentiary, sent secretly to acquaint  
 the *French* Ambassadors, That the States did accept  
 of the King's Offer. However, that he might not  
 by such a step alarm the Confederates, he gave the  
 Count *d'Avaux* also Notice, That he was very De-  
 sirous to speak with him in private, and for that  
 end would take a Walk alone upon the Ram-  
 parts of *Nimeguen*, about Seven in the Morning,  
 where they met accordingly, and, in a manner, fully  
 concluded all Matters. The Consequence of this  
 interview was, the granting of Ten Days longer  
 for the *Dutch* to endeavour to perswade their Al-  
 lies to accept of the Terms propos'd as they them-  
 selves had done. The King of *France* being in-  
 form'd of these Advances, His Majesty writ a Let-  
 ter

accept of  
 the Arti-  
 cles offer'd  
 by *France*.

**A. C.** ter to the States, dated at his Camp at Deinsse, M  
**1678.** the 18th, wherein he assured them, That he shou  
 always be ready for their sake to Grant to Spain th  
 The French same Terms, with Relation to Flanders, which the  
 King's Let- were now at Liberty to accept; and that in all the  
 ter to the time he would not attack any one Place in all those Pro  
 States, vinces. That thus they should always find him readi  
**May 18.** ly inclin'd, not only to form that Barrier, which they  
 W. S. thought to necessary for their own safety, but to secure  
 it; and to let them enjoy, together with the Re-esta-  
 blishment of Commerce, whatever other Advantages  
 they could expect from his Friendship. And if, for the  
 Prosecuting this Negotiation, they should think it ne-  
 cessary to send Deputies to him, they would find him  
 near Ghent till the 27th of that Month, and in the  
 same Disposition he had declar'd to them in this Let-  
 ter.

The States  
 Answer,  
 May 25.

A Truce  
 for six  
 Weeks  
 granted by  
 the K. of  
 France.

The Allies  
 angry with  
 the Dutch.

The States after four Days Consultation, re-  
 turn'd his most Christian Majesty an Answer,  
 wherein, "After having thankfully acknowledg'd  
 "the Honour he had done them, by Writing to  
 "them, and rejoic'd at the sincere Desire they  
 "conceiv'd to be in His Majesty for the Peace  
 "of Europe; they Pray'd he would be pleas'd to  
 "give Credit to Monsieur Beverning, their Extra-  
 "ordinary Ambassador, whom they would send  
 "to inform him, how desirous they were on their  
 "Part to give him fresh Assurances of their sin-  
 "cere Intentions also for the Peace. Monsieur  
 Beverning attended the King of France accordingly,  
 and manag'd his Negotiation so well that he ob-  
 tain'd a Cessation of Arms for Six Weeks in Flan-  
 ders, to the end the Dutch might now, as Media-  
 tors, endeavour to perswade the Spaniards to en-  
 ter into the Peace upon the Terms propos'd by  
 France; and upon his return, he told the States  
 That he found the French King as well inform'd  
 of the Condition of his Enemies, and of the Pla-  
 ces he might attack, as he was of his own Af-  
 fairs.

England, in the mean time, was grown pretty  
 indifferent in the Business of the Peace; and the  
 Spaniards seem'd inclin'd to comply with the ne-  
 cessity of their Affairs. But the Emperor, King of  
 Denmark

Denmark, and Elector of Brandenburg fell into the severest Expostulations and Reproaches against the States that could be well invented, ripping up all they ventur'd and suffer'd in a War, wherein they had engag'd for the sole Preservation of the United Provinces; but that now they were abandon'd by them, under a Pretence of Concluding a Peace; and that, upon Imperious and Arbitrary Terms without their Consent. That they were not backward to treat with France, and make a Peace upon any safe and reasonable Conditions, but would never suffer to have them dictated, as from an Absolute Conqueror; and would rather Venture their last Stake, than tamely Yield to them; particularly to those for the Duke of Lorraine, whose Case was the worst treated, tho' seemingly the most Favour'd by the Allies, and the least Disputed by France. The States were little mov'd at these verbal Storms, but held on their Course without regarding the Satisfaction of any other than Spain, in what concern'd the Barrier and safety of Flanders; and the straits of that Crown made them easie, tho' otherwise as little pleas'd as any of their Allies: Wherefore on June 22, the States gave Orders to their Plenipotentiaries at Nimeguen to sign the Peace with France, before the end of that Month; and at the same time acquainted the King of France with their Compliance. But notwithstanding all this tendency both in Spain and Holland to give the Treaty the finishing Stroke, yet an unexpected Accident fell out, which went near to overturn the whole Fabrick, and renew the War with redoubled Vigour, and more equal Forces, by engaging England in a share of it, in favour of the Allies, which they had long been practising without any Success.

The States  
order their  
Plenipotentiaries to  
Sign the  
Peace,  
June 22.  
1678.

In the Conditions the States had made for the French restoring the six Spanish Towns in Flanders, there was no particular mention made of the time of that Restitution, the Dutch and Spaniards presuming, that it was to be upon the Ratification of the Treaty with Spain and Holland, whether any other of the Confederates were included or no.

And



A. C. And the Negotiation had been managed in the manner till the very day before the Peace was 1678. be sign'd; when the Marquis *de los Balbaces* having either found or started some occasion of enquiring more particularly into the Intentions of France, bethought himself of an Explanation at the time of the Restitution of the said Places. In order to that, he first went to the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries to sound their Opinions upon that Subject, who made Answer, That if the *French* pretended to put off the Restitution beyond the exchanged the Ratifications, it was a thing not meant by them, and thereupon going immediately to the *French* Ambassadors to give them their Explications, which they would send to the States General by an Express, the latter did not stick to declare, That the King their Master being oblig'd to see an entire Restitution made to the *Swedes*, of all they had lost in the War, his Majesty would not evacuate the Towns in *Flanders*, till those belonging to the *Swedes* were likewise restor'd; and that the keeping these *Spanish* Towns was the only means to enduce the *Northern* Princes to accept the Peace. The *Dutch* Ministers having receiv'd the States Answer thereupon, did upon the 25th of *June* declare to the *French* Plenipotentiaries, That they could not Sign the Peace unless his most Christian Majesty did wave his Pretensions, and restore the *Spanish* Towns upon the Ratifications of the Treaty. On the other side, the *French* Ambassadors were firm, and stiffly insisted on the Satisfaction of the *Swedes*. This strange Procedure of France made the States General send to Monsieur *Van Lewen*, their Minister at *London*, to acquaint his *Britannick* Majesty with it, and to know his Opinion upon a Point of so great Importance. The King made difficulty at first to believe it, but sending to the *French* Ambassador at *London* to know the truth of it, and finding him own his Master's Intention, not to let go his hold in *Flanders* till the General Peace was concluded, and *Sweden* satisfied, he was both Surpriz'd and Angry, and next Morning sent for Sir *William Temple* to the Foreign Committee, and there



there declar'd his Resolution of sending him immediately into *Holland* with Commission to Sign a Treaty with the States, by which they should be oblig'd to carry on the War, and his Majesty to enter into it, in case *France* should not agree to evacuate the Towns within a certain time limited. Upon this occasion his Royal Highness the Duke of *York* fell into this Council with great warmth, and said at the Committee, *That it was plain by this Proceeding, that France was not sincere in the Business of the Peace; that they aim'd at the Universal Monarchy, and that none but his Majesty could hinder them from it, in the posture that Christendom stood.* His Britannick Majesty took the pains to press Monsieur *Van Leven* to go over with Sir *William Temple* to persuade the States of the Sincereness and Constancy of his Resolution to pursue this Measure with the utmost of his Power. Sir *William Temple* and Monsieur *Van Leven* being arriv'd at the *Hague* the Negotiation was immediately set on Foot, and in the space of six Days the famous Treaty of Alliance between *England* and *Holland* was happily concluded, to the general Satisfaction of the *Hollanders*, who at the first Conference made Sir *William* this Complement, *That they esteem'd his coming into Holland like that of the Swallows, which brought fair weather always with them.* Among the rest, the Prince of *Orange* receiv'd the *English* Ambassador with the greatest joy in the World, hoping by his Errand and the success of it, either to continue the War, or recover such Conditions of the Peace for his Allies as had been wrested out of his Hands by force of a Faction begun at *Amsterdam*, and spread since into the rest of the Provinces. And, indeed, it is hardly to be imagin'd what a new Life this new Alliance gave to the Authority and Fortunes of the Prince of *Orange*, who was now acknowleg'd by the States to have made a truer Judgment than they had done, of the Measures they were to expect both from *France* and *England*, the last having proceeded so resolutely to the offers of entering into the War, (which was never believ'd in *Holland*) and *France*, after raising so great a difficulty in the Peace

A. C.

1678.

Treaty of  
Alliance  
between  
England  
and Hol-  
land, July  
26.

**A. C.** Peace, having pursued the War so far as to blot up Mons, one of the best Frontiers remaining a Flanders, which was expected to fall into their Hands before the time limited for the Conclusion or Rupture of the Treaty should expire. There upon Preparations were made with the greatest Vigour and Diligence imaginable for his Highness's Expedition to relieve that Important Place, and about 10000 English, already arriv'd in Flanders, were order'd to march that way and joyn his Army. The Prince went into the Field with a firm Confidence that the War would certainly go on, hoping to engage the French Army before the term for Signing the Peace should expire, and resolv'd to relieve Mons or die in the Attempt.

Mons  
Block'd up  
by the  
French.

After the Treaty between England and Holland had been thus concluded and signified to France, all the Arts imaginable were practised on that side to elude it, by drawing the matter into a Negotiation, or at least a greater length, which had succeeded so well in England; and to Treat upon it first at St Quintin, then at Ghent, where the French King himself propos'd to meet such Ambassadors as the States should send to either of those Towns: But the States were stanch not to recede from their last Treaty, and continued in that Resolution till about five Days before the Expiration of the time limited; when there came one du Cros, a Swedish Agent in England, with Orders from his Britannick Majesty for Sir William Temple immediately to repair to Nimeguen, and there to endeavour to persuade the Swedish Plenipotentiaries to let the French there know, That they would for the good of Christendom consent, and even desire the King of France no longer to defer the Evacuation of the Towns; and assure the said Swedish Ambassadors; that after the Peace the King of England would use all the most effectual Endeavours he could, for the Restoration of all the Towns and Territories that had been taken from the Swedes in the War: How this Dispatch of du Cros was obtain'd was never certainly known; but 'tis reasonable to believe, that France had the greatest Hand in it, since 'twas terminated all one Morning in

## WILLIAM the Third.

113

A. C.

1678.

in the Dutchess of Portsmouth's Chamber, by the Intervention of Monsieur Barillon the French Ambassador. Yet, for all this, when Sir William Temple arriv'd at Nimeguen, which was but three Days before the expiration of the term fix'd by the late Treaty, between the King of England and the States, either for the French to evacuate the Towns, or for carrying on the War conjointly against France, there was but little disposition that the Peace would be Sign'd, but rather the quite contrary appear'd, by the stiffness shew'd on both sides to adhere firmly to their respective Demands: And the Dutch positively maintain'd, That there could be no Deputation made either to St. Quintin or Ghent, nor any other Expedient for preventing War, besides the assent of France to evacuate the Towns. The Peace thereupon seem'd desperate, and the more so, because at the same time the Duke of Luxemburgh press'd Mons, the Mareschal Schomberg threatned Cologne; and Brussels almost grew uneasy upon the Neighbourhood of the French Armies; so that the Allies thought themselves secure of what they had so much and so long desir'd and aim'd at, which was a War against France, in Conjunction with England. In the midst of these Views and Dispositions at Nimeguen, came the Fatal Day, fix'd by the late Treaty at the Hague, which must determine whether a sudden Peace, or a long War were to be reckon'd upon in Christendom; when in the Morning early, Monsieur Boreel, who had been sent from Amsterdam to the Dutch Ambassadors, went to the French Plenipotentiaries, and after some Conference with them, these three Ministers went immediately to those of Holland, and declar'd to them, they had receiv'd Orders to consent to the Evacuation of the Towns, and thereupon to Sign the Peace; but that it must be done that very Morning. At this the Dutch seem'd to be surpris'd, but, however, immediately enter'd into a Conference with the rest, which lasted for five hours, and ended in an Agreement upon all Points, both of Peace and Commerce between France and Holland; against which the Ambassadors of Denmark,

I  
Brandenburgh,

A. C. *Brandenburgh*, and *Munster* gave in a Memorial, al-  
 1678. ledging, after a long train of *Expostulations*, *That*  
 such a *hasty* and *precipitate* Conduct in the Dutch  
 Peace be- was unworthy of a State that had always govern'd it  
 tween self with Reason and Justice; and that such an ex-  
 France traordinary step would be an everlasting Blot upon the  
 and Hol- Honour and Reputation of the States General. And  
 land concluding, That if, notwithstanding all, they were  
 Signed, resolv'd to proceed, and enter into a Neutrality so con-  
 Aug. 11. trary to their solemn Engagements, they protested  
 1678. against that separate Treaty, in the best form they could,  
 Though and not only so, but against all the Calamities that  
 protested against by Christendom in General, and the Princes their Ma-  
 the Allies. jors in particular, might suffer by that Separation. But  
 notwithstanding the Reasonableness and Solemnity  
 of this Protestation, and the Irresolution of Mon-  
 sieur *Van Haren*, one of the Dutch Plenipotentiaries,  
 who did not seem to be so clear in the Point of  
 their Orders; yet Directions were presently given  
 to have all fair writ over with the greatest hast  
 imaginable, so that the Treaty might be Sign'd  
 that Night, which was done accordingly between  
 Eleven or Twelve, without the Intervention of the  
 English Mediators, who refus'd to Sign the same,  
 or to have their Names mention'd in it as Media-  
 tors, saying, Their Instructions were only to mediate a  
 General Peace, and not a particular one.

The Day after the Signing of this Peace came  
 over the Ratifications of the late Treaty between  
 his Britannick Majesty and the States, with Orders  
 for Sir *William Temple* to proceed forthwith to the  
 Exchange of them, which he did accordingly;  
 though after the Counter-Pace made by the Dis-  
 patch sent by *Du Cros*, and the Consequences of it,  
 the same appear'd now as unnecessary, as it had  
 been at first unresolv'd at the English Court, and  
 unexpected by the Dutch, who, many of them,  
 now were unsatisfied with the Peace, and especially  
 with the Precipitation of Monsieur *Beverning* in  
 Signing it; but the thing was done, and after some  
 Debates, the City of *Amsterdam* declaring their  
 Approbation of it, the rest of the Provinces did  
 soon acquiesce.

Thus

Thus by the the Address and skill of the French Politicians, the *English* Negotiation ended in Smoke, which was near kindling so great a Fire; the Peace was gain'd with *Holland*, his *Britannick* Majesty was excluded from any fair Pretence of entering into the War, after a great Expectation of his People rais'd, and, as they thought, deluded; *Spain* was necessitated to accept the Terms that *Holland* had Negotiated for them; and this left the Peace of the Empire wholly at the Discretion of *France*.

Immediately after these precipitate steps of the *Dutch* Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, the Prince of *Orange* resolv'd to save the Honour of his Country, and to Signalize himself by a desperate Attempt in the Field. *Mons* had been straitly block'd up by the *French* Army, Commanded by *Luxemburgh*, who was so confident of the good Posture he was in, that he writ to the *Mareschal d' Estrades*, one of the *French* Plenipotentiaries, That he was so posted, that if he had but 10000 Men, and the Prince of *Orange*, 40000, yet he was sure he could not be forc'd, whereas he took his Army to be stronger than that of the Prince. But notwithstanding the many Disadvantages from an Army drawn so suddenly together, so hasty a March as that of the *Dutch*, and Posts taken with so much Force, and Fortified with so much Industry; his Highness, upon Sunday the 17th of *August* in the Morning, decamp'd with his own and the Confederate Armies from *Soignes*, march'd towards *Roche*, and from thence advanc'd towards the Enemy, whose Right Wing was posted at the Abbey of *St. Dennis*, and the Left at *Mamoy*, with such advantage of Situation, that they were almost thought Inaccessible. About Twelve the Cannon began to play upon *St. Dennis*, and the Prince went to Dinner in the open Field, just as the Duke of *Monmouth* arriv'd in the Camp: At the same time the Duke of *Luxemburgh* was carousing with his Officers, when the Princes's Dragoons, like rude intruding Guests, penetrated into the Abbey, and having forc'd the *French* General to rise from Table in Confusion, seiz'd on his Plate,

A. C.

1678.



and carried it away, before those about the Duke had recover'd their Surprize. About Three in the Afternoon the Battalions under the Command of Count *Waldeck* began to Attack the Abbey, the Prince himself encouraging the Soldiers by his Presence and Example, and all the Regiments of the Left Wing seconding them in very good Order. In the mean time the *Spanish* Troops, Commanded by the Duke *de Villa Hermosa*, acted on the side of *Chasteau*, being supported by the Prince's Guards, who had the Van, and by the *English* and *Scott* Troops, led by the brave Earl of *Ossory*. The Action lasted till Nine at Night, during which the Prince rid to *Chasteau*, to share with the Earl of *Ossory* both the Danger and the Honour of the Dispute, which prov'd here more obstinate than on the side of the Abbey. Upon this occasion his Highness engag'd so far among the foremost of the Enemies, that a *French* Captain was just ready to fire his Pistol at his Highness, but was fortunately prevented by Monsieur *Overkirk*, who shot the *Frenchman* dead. At last, after a great slaughter, the Night put an end to this sharp Encounter, and the Confederates remain'd Masters of *St. Dennis's* Abbey. The Duke of *Luxemburgh* having lost so important a Post, retir'd in great Confusion, and the Prince next Morning took possession of the Camp the Enemy had abandon'd. The same day his Highness receiv'd an Express from the States, with advice of the Peace having been Signed at *Nimeguen*, which hindred him from prosecuting the glorious Success of an Action, which an Officer in the *French* Army esteem'd, *the only Heroick one that had been done in the whole Course of this War*. The Prince immediately Communicated the News of the Peace to the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, and after great Compliments pass'd on both sides, that Duke desir'd to see his Highness which was agreed to, and they met in the Field at the Head of their Chief Officers. This Interview was managed with the Civilities that became the occasion, and with great Curiosity of the *French*, to see and crowd about a Young Prince, who had made so much

much noise in the World; and who, the day before, had given Life and Vigour to such a desperate Action, as all Men esteem'd this Battle of St. Dennis. \* Yet many Reflections were made upon it, both by the Princes's Friends and Enemies: Some saying, *That it was too great a venture both to himself and the States, and too great a Sacrifice to his own Honour, since it could be to no other Advantage.* Others laid the blame to the Marquis de Grana, who, they said, had intercepted and conceal'd the States Packet to the Prince, which came into the Camp the Day before the Battle, (though after it was resolv'd on) and that he had hopes by such a Rupture of the Peace, even after it was Sign'd, that the Progress of it would have been defeated. Whether this Report were true or no, the Prince could not have ended the War with greater Glory, nor with greater Spite, to see such a favourable opportunity of making impression into France wrested out of Hands, by the sudden and unexpected Signing of the Peace, which he had assur'd himself the States would not have consented to without the Spaniards. But the occasion was not to be retriev'd, and therefore he left the Army, went first to the Hague, and then to Diarentia, like a Person that had nothing else to do; leaving the States to pursue their own Measures, as to the finishing of the Treaty between France and Spain, wherein their Plenipotentiaries at Nimeguen employ'd themselves with great Zeal and Application, and no longer as Parties concern'd and Confederates, but rather as Mediators, the English declining that Function, as being a matter wherein the Court of England would take no part.

Whilst Men's Minds were busied with various Conjectures about the present Affairs, Mr. Hyde was \* suddenly dispatch'd over from England, to the surprize even of all in Holland, and more especially of Sir William Temple, who had not the least intimation given him either of his journey or Errand. The design of this sudden Message was, "To acquaint the States how much his Britannick Majesty had been surpriz'd at the News,

A. C.

1678.

Sir W.

Memoirs.

Pag. 355.

\* August  
1678.



A. C. "News of their Ambassadors having Signed a particular Treaty with France, even without the inclusion of Spain, and without any Guaranty given for the Evacuation of the Towns within the time requisite; to complain of this Precipitation of the States, and, at the same time, of the new Pretensions which France had advanc'd upon the County of Beaumont, and the Town of Boves, which had retarded the Peace of Spain. That for these Reasons he understood and believ'd, that the late Treaty of July, between his Majesty and the States, ought to take effect, the Case being fallen out against which that was provided, and both Parties being thereby oblig'd to enter joyntly into the War against France. That if the States would hereupon refuse to Ratifie the Treaty their Ministers had Sign'd at Nimegum, his Majesty offer'd to declare War immediately against France, and carry it on in all Points according to the Articles of the said Treaty with the States.

*Mr. Hyde, who, with Sir William Temple, went on purpose to Hounsladyke to acquaint the Prince with his Message, was no sooner withdrawn, but his Highness lift up his Hands two or three times, and said, Was ever any thing so hot and so cold as this Court of yours? Will the King that is so often at Sea never learn a Word that I shall never forget since my last Passage? When in a great Storm the Captain was all Night crying out to the Man at the Helm, Steddy, Steddy, Steddy. If this Dispatch had come twenty Days ago it had chang'd the Affairs in Christendom, and the War might have been carried on till France had yielded to the Treaty of the Pyrenees, and left the World in quiet for the rest of our Lives. As it comes now it will have no effect at all, at least, that is my Opinion, though I would not say so to Mr. Hyde. The Event prov'd answerable to the Prince's Judgment, though for the present, all Appearances seem'd very different from the former Proceedings of the Dutch and Spaniards, whereof many of the Deputies of the former shew'd an Inclination to comply with his Majesty's Proposals, and appear'd so ill satisfied with*



with their Plenipotentiaries having Sign'd the Peace, that they form'd several Articles against Monsieur *Beverning's* Proceedings. The true spring of this resolute Step of *England* was generally thought to be the Business of the Popish Plot, just then breaking out; for the King to avoid the Consequences the same might have upon the ill Humour of the Parliament, which seem'd to rise chiefly from the Peace, his Majesty resolv'd to give them the Satisfaction they had so long desir'd of entering into the War.

After Matters had continued for about three Weeks in the uncertainty, whether the *Dutch* would Ratifie their Separate Peace with *France* or no; the *French* King thought the Conjuncture too Important to let it hover so long, and therefore first dispatch'd a Courier to his Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, with leave to satisfy the States as to those Clauses in their Treaty, wherein they seem'd justly to except against Monsieur *Van Beverning's* Conduct; next he gave them liberty to make some Condescensions as to the Points contested with the *Spaniards*; and lastly he empower'd his Ambassadors to remit all the Differences which obstructed the Conclusion of the Treaty between him and *Spain*, to the Decision and Umpirage of the States General. By the Artifice of this Confidence towards the *Dutch* on the Part of *France*, several Towns and Provinces proceeded with a General Concurrence to their Ratifications, that they might be ready in their Ambassadors Hands, to be exchange'd when the Treaty of *Spain* was Sign'd, which was done on the 17th of *September*, and wherein the *English* Mediators had no part; and so the great Designs of the Court of *England* were eluded, and Mr. *Hyde* had the misfortune to return home intirely disappointed; and so *France* was left in Possession of the Peace with *Holland* and *Spain*, and by Consequence Master of the Empire and the *North*, upon his own Terms. About three Months after the Treaty between the Emperor and the King of *France* was Sign'd at *Nimeguen* without the *English* Mediators, whom the Imperial Ambassadors would by no

A. C.  
1678.

Peace between  
*France*  
and *Spain*  
Sign'd,  
Sept. 17.

And between the  
Emperor &  
*France*,  
Feb. 1,  
1679.

A. C. means allow to Sign first, unless as Mediators; if  
 1679. which they ought to have the Precedency; and  
 1680. therefore they declin'd Signing at all.

1681. By the Treaty concluded between the Crown  
 1682. of France and Spain, it was agreed that Commis-  
 1683. sioners should meet at *Cambray*, in the Year 1679,  
 1684. to Regulate all Disputes that might arise about the

Limits. But after several tedious Contests occasioned by the excessive Pretensions of the *French*; who claim'd whole Provinces in the Nature of Dependencies; the War seem'd to kindle afresh in 1684, by their breaking the Truce already agreed on, by the Siege of *Luxemburgh*. The Prince of *Orange*, who knew this Place had been attempted the Year before, according to his usual foresight, had propos'd pretty early to the States the raising of 16000 Men, and to bring all the Troops of the Country into the Field, as a means to divert the *French* from their Design. But he was oppos'd in it by the Artifice of Count d'*Avaux*, the *French* Ambassador, who gave in several Memorials to the States, upon Account of the Conjuncture; insomuch that the City of *Amsterdam* would not Consent to the said Levy, but absolutely rejected it. Notwithstanding this disappointment, the Prince of *Orange*, still bent upon the asserting the Liberties of *Europe*, and the Vindication of Treaties, put himself at the Head of a small Army, with Design to relieve *Luxemburgh*. But the Siege was carried on with such Vigour, that tho' those within made a Resolute Defence, (considering the Circumstances the Town was then in) yet they were oblig'd to Surrender upon Articles, before his Highness could come up to their Assistance. Thus *France* by the Success of their Arms, having got what they desir'd, propos'd a Truce afresh for Twenty Years; which by the States Mediation was agreed upon by a Treaty Sign'd at the *Hague*, on the 29th of June 1684.

*Luxemburgh besieged by the French in May, and taken June the 10. 1684.*

*The Truce for Twenty Years, June 29 1684.*

In the midst of all these Negotiations, which seldom or never were treated of but in the Presence of the Prince of *Orange*, whom they consult-  
 ed

ed in the most arduous Affairs, his Highness still shew'd a wonderful Publick-spiritedness and Generosity; for when every one had his private Interest in view, he preferr'd the Welfare of his Country and the Repose of Christendom, to that Reparation he might justly expect for the great Losses he had sustain'd in his own Dominions, in *Brabant*, *Francbe-Comté*, *Luxemburgh*, and chiefly in his Principality of *Orange*.

As soon as the Truce for Twenty Years was ratified, the States were of Opinion they might now licentiate Part of their Forces, and the Deputies of *Amsterdam* would, without any further Delay, reform the Recruits they had made the Year before; but all the Members of that Assembly coming to this Conclusion, That nothing ought to be done without the Advice of the Prince of *Orange*, his Highness assur'd them, That no one more earnestly desir'd the ease of the People than himself, but at the same time, he would never Consent to leave the Country naked and defenceless; insisting that they had Occasion for all their Troops, till their Affairs, both at Home and Abroad, were in a better Posture of Security. The States were soon perswaded to follow this Advice, and therefore not only kept their present Forces in Pay, but the next and the following Years retain'd to their Service several Hundreds of *French* Protestant Officers, and Cadets, who left their Native Country upon the score of Religion; and who accompanied his Highness in his great Expedition into *England*. What gave Occasion to that prodigious Enterprize, and by what secret Steps and Counsels the ensuing Revolution was at last accomplish'd, will be the Subject Matter of the Second Part of this History, which will Comprehend the whole Reign of *James II.* King of *Great Britain*.

*The End of the first Part.*

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THE  
APPENDIX  
TO THE  
First Part.

*A Letter of the States General of the United Provinces, to the King of Great Britain, Dated at the Hague the 18th of December 1673. Which being Communicated to the Parliament then Sitting, both Houses came to this Unanimous Resolution, That His Majesty should be humbly intreated, to proceed to a speedy Peace with the Dutch.*

S I R,

**W**Hatsoever might be the Motion, that has induc'd your Majesty to Write us the Letter, which the Trumpeter we had sent to you, deliver'd us from your Majesty, bearing Date, the 17th of November, We find our selves oblig'd to give your Majesty Thanks for the Honour you have been pleas'd to do us, but withal we cannot Dispense with our selves, without Declaring to your Majesty the Grief we conceive, by finding the same of an Importance so much to our disadvantage; and that the Ministers, upon whom your Majesty places most Confidence, have until this time exercis'd their

their skill in bringing things to that Point as they have done, perswading your Majesty that they could rake up together so many things, as they believ'd had been quite blotted out of your Majesties Memory, and which they, in their Consciences, knew to be far from the Truth.

This Consideration, Sir, hindreth us from giving a particular Answer to the Heads of the Letter, which your Majesty hath Written us, out of fear, lest the same should tend to give an Occasion to them who have already surpriz'd your Majesty to our Prejudice, to render things worse; and betaking our selves to that whereto we have been necessitated in drawing up our Answers to the *Manifesto* publish'd in your Majesty's Name, we shall content our selves herein to Declare to your Majesty, whereas we have not in our Letters, which we have had the Honour of Writing to your Majesty, *de facto*, set any thing of which we should not be able to give an Authentick and unanswerable Evidence, we shall always be ready to produce the same before your Majesty, whenever it shall please you to give us a more particular Occasion thereunto. Further, since your Majesty, being of the Sentiment that the Report your Ministers had made to you, was more Sincere, hath complain'd in your Parliament of the invincible Averseness which we shew'd to the Peace; and that the House of Commons according to their Ordinary Prudence, hath been pleased to suspend their Judgments, and thereby given us opportunity to bring our Innocence to light, and to make known in a more publick manner the uncontradictory Sincerity of our Intentions, we have believed it to be our Duty to add this, that your Majesty and all your Kingdoms may see, that we affect not to speak of Peace, as we are thereupon accused, without a real desire thereof, and that we are far from concluding our selves within general Terms without particular Discovery of our meaning: We are ready to renew with your Majesty the Treaty that was made with us at *Breda*, in the Year 1667, and to give a clearer Exposition

Exposition of the Nineteenth Article referring to the Ceremony of the Flag, upon such a manner as may leave no place for future Dispute, and to regulate the same without any Ambiguity. And forasmuch as that Treaty hath been held by your Majesty to be so just and so equitable, that in the following Years it occasion'd your Majesty to afford us more Tokens of Benevolence and good Inclination, and that you entred into a nearer Alliance with us than ever formerly, we propose that same Treaty, as a fast Foundation of a firm and lasting Peace, and hope that your Majesty will not refuse your Friendship upon the same Conditions, which were by your self before approv'd, for that the Interest of the Protestant Religion, and many Cases respectively relating to the Prosperity of both the Nations, ought to oblige us on both sides readily to unite. Moreover, seeing some have strongly endeavour'd to perswade your Majesty that we have violated our Treaties, and committed divers unjust things, for which you demand Satisfaction, we are ready, without any delay, to send Ambassadors to your Majesty to inform you of the Truth with less disguise, than hath been done by our Enemies; and before your Majesty to enter into an Examination of all the Treaties whereof we are blam'd, to repair all Wrongs and Injuries, which your Majesty or your Subjects might have receiv'd from us or from our Officers, since the aforesaid Treaty at *Breda*, till the beginning of this War. And that the Discussing thereof, may not retard the concluding of a Peace, which we so ardently Wish, and which is so needful for the Welfare of Christendom, we offer to your Majesty for greater Security, the *Guaranty* of our Allies for the exact and punctual Performance of the Promise we here make to your Majesty, and which we consent to, that it be brought into the Treaty, which shall be concluded, to make it so much the more Authentick.

Finally, to let your Majesty fully see the especial Esteem we have for your Friendship, we hereby offer the Restitution of the *New-Netherlands*,  
and

and of all the other Places and Colonies, which have been gain'd by our Arms in this present War; perswading our selves that your Majesty will not refuse, reciprocally to engage to restore to us the Lands or Forts, which yours may have Conquer'd

As for what your Majesty seems above all to complain, that we most highly Offend you, in the Proposal we make for separating you from your Allies, to whom you have promis'd not to treat without them; when we in the mean time assume it for a Fundamental Point, that we must pursue the Engagements that we have given ours without injuring our Honour, as if your Majesty ought less to regard yours: We beseech your Majesty to Consider, that there is a vast difference betwixt your Engagements and ours, as well as in the Conduct of those with whom we are Allied. And your Majesty may with as much Justice as Glory extinguish a Fire, which has spread much further than was at first believ'd: Whereas we cannot abandon our Allies without the greatest unthankfulness, and without the ruin of Europe, and therewithal of our selves. At that time as your Majesty entered into an Union with our Enemies, they seem'd to have no other aim than to level our Common-wealth; at this Day the War is General, and the *Spanish Netherlands* (for the Preservation of which your Majesty hath always shown so much Zeal) participate therein no less than we, as also doth great part

On the other side, your Majesty less Cause to continue in your for that your Allies have been they, the Nature of this War, and eng so much the sooner to Declare His *Imperial Majesty*, and the *N. Spain*, having not been longer Hostilities, which the *French & Netherlands*, and in several Provin where they had already made th of an *Electoral Place*. But without entring upon the search of those Affairs, and not accounting it needful



needful to make use of the several Arguments of that Nature, your Majesty, Sir, had had too much Cause to desert an Ally, who in this War hath sought nothing but his particular Advantage, and who in Cases of most Importance hath laid nothing less to heart, than the Interest of your Majesty, that we say no worse; and if your Majesty does yet in the least doubt thereof, let not your Majesty Content your self with what the *French Partizans* tell you, but let that be well examin'd which was done last Year at *Utrecht* between the *French Ministers* and our *Deputies*, and you may see the Sincerity of the Proceedings of your Allies. It is certainly enough to convince you, to Read the Propositions which the *French*, at that time, made to us, wherein you cannot find one single Word that Concerns your Majesty, and in the mean while our other *Deputies* were detain'd at *Hampton-Court*, without your being pleased to give them Audience, they at *Utrecht* would have had us enter into, and accomplish a Treaty without Participation with your Majesty: And to Constrain us the more they declar'd to us, that in Case we agreed not to all that they demanded of us, within the time of Five Days, they should then make new Demands of us. We could, besides these, produce divers other Overtures, which have been made to us since that time, wherein your Majesty hath been as little consider'd; but because that kind of dealing hath not been so publick, tho' really such, we shall not insist thereon; and shall satisfy our selves with the last Proof of Obligation your Majesty hath from your Allies, in giving you to Consider what passed in the Sea-Fight, of which we desire no other Testimony nor Judges, than those who had the Command of the Fleets of your Majesty, with all the rest of the Officers and Soldiers. But in Reference to us, as our Allies have dealt a quite different other way, for which we are bound by Obligations, which we cannot enough Express; so on the other hand, we are entred into a Covenant with them thro' an indispensable Necessity, and therewith for the

Welfare

Welfare of all *Europe*. And Lastly, as we have already said, we cannot separate from them without our Destruction, and the Hazard of the Well-being of *Christendom*. Your Majesty ought not to Wonder that we cannot Consent to break our Word, nor to take it ill that we propose to your Majesty the pursuit of your true Interests, and to take a Resolution, which will be so Honourable and so Righteous, as well Profitable for your Kingdoms and Neighbours.

Hereto we will yet add, that a particular Treaty is so much more Necessary and more just than the Conferences of *Colen*, which do absolutely stand still thro' the strongly *Opinionative* denial of *France*, for some Months past, to grant the Passes requisite for the Ministers of the Duke of *Lorrain*, one of our Allies, and to Consent that he might be accepted as an interested Person in that Treaty of Peace.

This, Sir, is what we have thought fit to represent and offer to your Majesty, for Answer to the most Principal of your Letters, and hereupon we hope, that how little Reflection soever your Majesty shall make upon it, you will acknowledge that more cannot in Justice be Demanded of us; being not willing to believe that your Majesty, without Necessity or Profit, will continue to Favour the Arms of *France*, not only against us, but also against others, your eldest Allies, who are oblig'd to own our Cause, or that you will any longer endanger the Preservation of *Europe* and the *Protestant Religion*. We shall with great Impatience expect the Resolution of your Majesty, upon which the Quietness and Prosperity of so many Nations depends. And mean while we Pray God to accumulate Happiness upon your Reign, and to bless your Royal Person with Health and a long Life.

*The Spanish Ambassador's Memorial to King Charles II.*

S I R,

THE Misfortunes of *Europe* being so much augmented by the Calamities of War, have at length oblig'd the Princes thereof, to a more earnest apprehension of that Ruin, which is Threatened by the Arms of *France*, and the strange Progress those Arms have made. For his most Christian Majesty not contenting himself to lessen the Power of *Holland* (which was the Principal Motive and Foundation of the War,) hath thought fit to penetrate into the Bowels of the Empire, and by overthrowing the Peace thereof, introduce those Outrages that always attend War, insomuch, as his Imperial Majesty in Order to Repel the Aspiring Designs of *France*, hath driven it to the Violent Remedy of Arms; and all the Princes of the Empire have been so awakened with Jealousies, as to Confederates with him, not only for the Security of their own Dominions, but for the common good of all; nothing being more evident to them than that the Augmentation of *France* must be founded on the Subjection of all others. Wherefore his Imperial Majesty having, upon these so Important and Justifiable Grounds, entered into a League with the States General of the United Provinces, and the Two Branches of the House of *Austria* being in their Interests so much the same, the Queen, my Mistress, has found herself oblig'd to Unite with both these Powers, in order to restrain the Ambitious Designs of *France*, and to restore Christendom to the Tranquility it enjoy'd; Though at the same time she is filled with Sorrow and Compassion for that Effusion of Blood which must flow on all sides from this War, and the inevitable Ruin that must attend those Countries that are at present involved in the Infelicities thereof. But being desirous to prevent some greater Evils yet, and that between *Spain* and this Crown nothing may arise

arise or disturb the good Correspondence which hath been hitherto maintain'd; she cannot but observe how your Majesty is United with the Crown of *France*, and this, at a time when the said Crown, as all Men do conclude, and by the abandoning so many of their late Conquer'd Places, is demonstrable, are resolving to Unite and pour all their Forces on the Dominions of the King, my Master, making them the unhappy Seat of the War; so that if your Majesty partakes therein, it is impossible but many insupportable Offences must arise. And therefore, her Majesty being excited by that true and sincere Desire which she hath always had, and which hath been still testified in *Spain* for the Confirmation of your Majesty's Friendship, and Augmenting the Felicity of your Reign; whereof what your Majesty owed in so many Occasions to the Love and Services of the late King *Philip* the Fourth, my Master, of blessed Memory, is sufficient Proof; and also what the Queen my Mistress hath laboured (in all things that have occurred) to manifest: I am now further commanded to present unto your Majesty's Royal Consideration the great Union that is by Nature Establish'd in the Interests of this Crown with *Spain*, and also the great Conveniences that will result to your Majesty, and your Kingdoms, in admitting a Peace with *Holland*. For your Subjects being freed from the Calamities of the War, and Enjoying the advantages of a free Trade, must needs grow Rich in the same Proportion that others will Consume, till this Flame be extinguish'd. Wherefore I am in her Royal Name commanded to propose to your Majesty, That the States General will yield, in the matter of the Flag, to the Content and Satisfaction of your Majesty; that they will make restitution of all Countries, and Prizes which the Arms of the said States General, during this War, have taken or may take out of *Europe* upon like restitution made to them. And lastly, That although their Expences have been exorbitant, they will give Eight Hundred Thousand Paracoons, to be Paid as followeth, That is to say, One fourth Part in the same time that the Ratifications of the Treaty of

K

Peace

Peace shall be deliver'd, and the residue in Three Terms; one of them to be in the First Year after the end of the War, one other the Second Year, and the last in the Third Year, by equal Proportions; and the said States General will give Caution sufficient, and to the Satisfaction of the Queen my Mistress. These are the Propositions which the Queen, my Mistress, commands me to put into your Majesties Royal Hands, from whose Magnanimity, she hopeth, that at her Interposition you will admit the same: and thereby do an Action as to the World, laudable; (by inclining the Minds of all to restore *Christendom* to its antient Repose) and to your Subjects most desirable, by their owing to your Majesty's Piety, an Exemption from the Troubles, Miserie, and Ruin of War, and Enjoying the Blessing of Peace, and the Freedom and Advantages of their Trade. And I cannot but promise my self from Considerations of this Importance, a speedy, favourable, and Benign Answer to return to the Queen, my Mistress, thereby to bind up in a closer Tye of Friendship the Thoughts, and Inclinations of the Subjects of both Crowns; for should a contrary Answer be given to the Adjustment that is proposed on such reasonable Terms, *Spain* must be oblig'd to take other Measures for its Security; it being incompatible that sincere Friendship, or a Peace, can subsist between the two Crowns, if your Majesty will Persevere in the Engagements of this War.

*London, Dec. 1<sup>o</sup> 1673.*

*Marques del Fresno.*

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*His Majesty's Answer to the Spanish Ambassador's Memorial.*

**H**IS Majesty having seen and considered a Memorial deliver'd to him by his Excellency the Marquis del Fresno, Extraordinary Ambassadour from the Catholick King, bearing Date the 1<sup>o</sup> Instant, Commands this Answer to be made thereunto: That he was not a little surpris'd to find the Contents of this Paper confirm to him the Report of

of a Treaty made betwixt the King his Master and the States General of the United Provinces (the Assisting of whom, in this War, was a manifest Breach of the Separate Article of the Treaty between the two Kings, binding them reciprocally not to assist one another's Enemies in any open War,) and His Majesty's Wonder thereupon hath been the greater, in that this Treaty with the States General was never own'd to him by the Ambassador himself, or any of the *Spanish* Ministers, and, that his Excellency was pleas'd to look upon it, when the Rumour thereof came first abroad, as a malicious Invention of the Enemies of the Crown of *Spain*, disused only to create a Misunderstanding betwixt His Majesty and that Crown, whereas now it seems to be a real thing, and doth no less, according to the Tenor of the said Memorial, than Threaten a War to His Majesty, if he will not submit himself to Conditions imposed upon him by his declar'd Enemies. Notwithstanding which, His Majesty esteems himself in some degree beholding to the Catholick Queen, for having imparted to him the Terms and Conditions upon which the States General of the United Provinces will be Content to make the Peace with His Majesty; since in so many Months that the Plenipotentiaries have been at *Cologn*, their Deputies could never be brought to make a clear Declaration of any Offers that they would stand to; but held them still under such Ambiguities as they might at all times recede from them, as they should see Cause. Now altho' the Conditions offer'd in the said Memorial are very small in respect of the great Expence of Blood and Treasure the War hath Cost; yet, that the World may see, how desirous His Majesty is to contribute to the General Peace of *Christendom*, he declares he will be Content with any reasonable Conditions for a Peace suitable to his own Honour, and the Interests of his Subjects.

*The Offers made in his Excellency's Memorial, are,*

- I. The Point of the Flag promis'd to be adjusted to His Majesties Satisfaction.
- II. A Reciprocal restitution of Places and Prizes that are, or may have been taken by either Nation, out of *Europe*, during this War.
- III.

III. And lastly, The Summ of Eight Hundred Thousand Patacoones.

Now if the States General will Extinguish their Pretension to the restitution of the Prizes, as a thing impracticable, and never insisted on in any Treaty of Peace, and add to the abovemention'd Offers their additional ones, which cannot well be denied; viz.

I. An Equal and Reciprocal Regulation of the Trade in the *East-Indies*, such as was often Promised, and particularly in the late Treaty of *Breda*.

II. Leave to his Subjects yet detain'd at *Surinam*, to depart from thence with their Estates and Effects, pursuant to the said Treaty, and their own reiterated Promises and Orders.

III. And lastly, That the Subjects of the said States General, shall, for the future, Abstain from Fishing upon the Coasts and Shoars of any of His Majesty's Dominions, without Leave, and Passports first obtain'd.

His Majesty Declares, That as to himself he will be Content with these Conditions. But because the Wording of Articles thereupon is of equal Moment to the things that shall be contained in them, and that this cannot be Effected but by Persons equally instructed and empower'd on both sides, His Majesty further Declares, that he will direct his Plenipotentiaries at *Cologne*, to apply themselves together with the Deputies of the States General without delay thereunto, by the help of the Mediation of the Crown of *Sweden*, which, having been accepted, and authoriz'd on both sides, and the City of *Cologne* having been insisted on by the *Dutch* to the Mediators for the Place of Treaty, His Majesty conceives, that neither the Place nor the Mediation can be now declin'd without a Notorious Offence to the Parties concern'd; and more particularly to the Honour of the Crown of *Sweden*.

And His Majesty assures himself, that this his proceeding will appear so fair and equal to the Catholick Queen, as not to lessen, in any degree, in her Royal Breast, the Esteem she Professes to have of his Friendship, and Alliance, which His Majesty has ever used his utmost endeavours to Cultivate and Improve; particularly in making himself the

Princi-



Principal Instrument of the two late Peaces of *Portugal* and *Aix la Chapelle*, so valuable to the Crown of *Spain* in the Minority of their King, and in so Cautioning the Peace between *France* and *Spain* from any Violation or Disturbance by this present War, as he did in the Treaty made with the Most Christian King, when he entered into the Union, and Confederation with him against the States General of the United Provinces. Given at the Court at Whitehall, the 16th Day of December, 1673.

By His Majesty's Command,  
Arlington.

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*Treaty of Alliance between England and Holland,  
Concluded at the Hague, July 26. 1678.*

AS the States of the United Provinces, after having declared by their Letters to the Most Christian King, That they consented to the Conditions of Peace, as far as in them lay, which he offer'd them; and that his Catholick Majesty, who was also of the same Sentiments, was willing on his part, so far as it regarded him, to embrace the Treaty, and having upon that Head used all the Facility that can be; and, to that end, ordered his Ambassadors at *Nimeguen* to set their Hands to those Conditions, so far as it related to them, as well as the other Allies, who were also willing to comprehend therein, have nevertheless understood, with much concern of Mind, that the Ministers of *France* have oppos'd the same, and refused the Restitution of the Places which belong to *Spain* and the States, without they would first, and for the Satisfaction of *Sweden*, restore also those Places which had been taken from them during the Course of the War: This so unexpected a Change having obliged the States to believe, that Pretensions so ill grounded were rather an effect of the Repugnancy that might be in the Plenipotentiaries, than the real Intentions of his Majesty, who had otherwise explain'd himself; and as the said States did besides inform his Majesty of *Great Britain* of the Essential Points that obstructed that important Negotiation, praying



praying him to support so just a Cause, and to endeavour to obtain of his Most Christian Majesty all that might remove the Obstacles which retarded that Work; and adding withal, that if his Endeavours should prove fruitless in so just a Work, he would be pleased to protect and assist them with all his Forces; and that his Majesty did thereupon re-assure them, that the Peace were neither just nor Feasible upon those Conditions, and gave them his Promise that he would defend them, if the Most Christian King refused it under any pretence whatsoever. Upon that the States gave Orders to their Plenipotentiaries to desire those of *France*, that without making those exorbitant Demands, or entering upon Satisfaction to *Sweden*, they would forthwith Conclude and Sign the Treaty, which they were also ready to do in the Name of the States, if his Majesty, after the Ratification and Publishing of the Peace, would give up unto them all those Places, without pretending any Restitution to the *Swedes* of what they had lost since the War.

With this view, and in order to prevent those dangerous Consequences that may arise from such delay, it was agreed between his *Britannick* Majesty and the States, that if their Offices and Endeavours do not surmount these *Remora's*, and if they cannot get the Most Christian King to declare before the 11th of *August*, that he will really restore those Places after the Ratification and Publishing of the said Treaty, without any farther insisting upon the Pretensions of the *Swedes*, by a speedy Evacuation of those that ought to be restored by Virtue of that Peace. It is then agreed, and these two Powers do agree, to declare War against *France*, and to compel her thereto with their joint Forces, according to the Conditions stipulated underneath, or such as shall be hereafter Established between them, or with other Princes who shall enter into this Engagement.

And as his Most Christian Majesty hath often declared to his *Britannick* Majesty, as a Common Mediator between the Parties in Difference, That he would readily embrace a Peace, that could be made upon reasonable Terms, yet his good Offices  
and

and Hopes have not been able to produce the Fruits wish'd for, through the new Pretensions that have been continually rais'd.

His said Majesty and the States General Assembled, July the 26th 1678, believing and being perswaded, that Repose cannot be given to *Christendom*, if the Princes who are in War should accept of those Conditions; and if, as to what concerns *Spain* and *France*, the latter do not render to the other *Charleroy*, *Aeth*, *Oudenard*, *Coureray*, *Tournay*, *Conde*, *Valenciennes*, *St. Guislain*, *Binch*, the *Dutchy of Limburgh*, &c. with their Bailywicks, Chateaulenies, Governments, Provostships, Appurtenances and Dependencies, so as to restore them, and put them into the Hands of *Spain*.

And as for what concerns the Emperor, the Empire and its Princes, that *France* shall give up to them all that she has taken from them at present, and that the rest remain as it was before the War: That *Lorrain* be restored to the Duke of that Name in the same State it is now in; or, if that cannot be done, in the State it was when seized by *France*. His Majesty and the States mutually and really obliging themselves to the observation of this Point.

I. His said Majesty and the Lords the States General promise to do their utmost, and, if it may be, to use all sorts of means to constrain the Most Christian King to give Satisfaction in these Terms, without being at liberty to make a Peace with him, if he do not give his Consent to them, or to some others, as shall be agreed on between his Majesty and the States, according to the success of the War.

II. His Majesty and the States General do engage themselves farther for the obliging *France* to consent to these Conditions, or to such as the Princes concerned shall find convenient; and in short for bringing that Crown to comply with it, that his Majesty shall have one third more at Sea, and a third less by Land, in the *Low Countries*, than the Lords the States, all by a provisional way, till it be otherwise provided by the Allies.

III. It is also Stipulated, That if his Majesty of *Great Britain*, and the Most Christian King make War upon one another, one of the Confederates cannot separate from

from the other by any particular Treaty, without that others Consent.

IV. But if the Negotiation of Peace which is held at *Nimeguen*, comes to be broke up, and that the Parties should agree upon any other Place to treat of it, or of a Truce, that cannot be done without the Consent or Agreement of the other Allies; and without, at the same time, one of the Parties of the Confederacy procure also to the other, the necessary Passports to pass freely, and without danger, to the place appointed for the Treaty, where he ought also to communicate to him all that passeth in that Negotiation. And, in the mean time, they shall not have Power to consent to any Peace or Truce, but according to the Conditions stipulated by the first Article, or such other as they shall agree upon, and without his Ally be re-establish'd in the full and entire Possession of all the Lands, Towns, Places and Immunities, which he enjoyed at the Signing of this Treaty, in *Europe*, if it be not otherwise agreed on between his Majesty and the States.

V. But if the Peace in Hand terminate happily between the Most Christian King on the one Hand, and his Catholick Majesty and the States General on the other, whether by the Propositions which *France* hath made her self, or by such others as they can agree to, his *Britannick* Majesty and the States will not only be Guarantee in the best and surest form that may be, but also it is free for other Kings and Neighbouring Princes who shall have any Interest in the Repose of *Christendom*, and the immutable Tranquility of the *Low Countries* to be so. 'Tis with this View that his said Majesty and the States would agree upon the Troops and Means that are necessary to bring the Person who shall Violate the Peace, to make Satisfaction for the Damage he shall do another any manner of way.

VI. These Articles, and the full Contents of them are to be Sign'd and Ratified within Three Weeks, or sooner, if it may be, and the Ratifications exchanged at the same time. *Given at the Hague, July 26. 1678.*

Signed,

*W. Temple.*

*W. Van Henkelom, Van Wingaerden Fagel, D. Van Heyden, Van Lewen, J. de Maregnault, Jean Baron de Reed, A. ter Borcht.*

THE



LACOBUS. II<sup>us</sup>

*D.G. Anglia Scot. Fran. et Hiber.*

*Part. 2.*

REX etc.

*p. 2*

THE  
LIFE  
AND  
REIGN  
OF  
King *William* III.

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In Three Parts.

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Part the Second,  
Beginning with the Death of King *Charles* II.  
and Ending with King *William's*  
Accession to the Throne.

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L O N D O N :  
Printed by R. F. for F. Coggan, in the Inner-  
Temple-Lane. 1702.

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1945

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1948

1949

1950

1951

1952



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T H E  
R E I G N  
O F  
King J A M E S II.

**K**ing *Charles II.* being seiz'd with a violent Fit, which in three Days carried him off, various were the Reports about his Diltemper: Some maintaining it to be an Apoplexy, occasion'd by his frequent Debauches, and others the Effect of Poison. This last Opinion was most general, and seem'd to be justified by the Symptoms that attended this Fit: For before the King fell into it, he complain'd, first of a heavy Oppression in his Stomach, and about the Heart, and soon after of a racking Pain in those Parts, all which had but little Relation to an Apoplexy, which is known principally to affect the Head.

These Suspicions were encreas'd by several concurring Circumstances: Some few Days before King *Charles* was taken ill, there escap'd him some warm Expressions about the ill Measures that had been suggested to him, and how in a particular Affair he had been *abus'd*: Adding, in a Passion, *That if he liv'd but a Month longer, he would find a way to make himself easie for the rest of his Life.* This Passage was whisper'd abroad next Day, and interpreted by some, as if the King design'd to recal the Duke of *Monmouth*, and remove the Duke of *York*. Now how far the Principles of that

1684. Party, which was like to suffer by this sudden Resolution, might leave them at Liberty to prevent it, tho' without the Participation of the Duke of York, is not the Business of an Historian to determine; yet 'tis certain, that King *Charles* no sooner heard that the Lord *Allington*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, (with whom he had drank some Chocolate some Days before, and concerted Measures to secure the Duke of York) was dead after a very strange manner; but he began to be afraid of his Life. Others observ'd, that when the deceas'd King's Body was open'd, his Stomach and Intestines were not narrowly search'd, which ought chiefly to have been done, considering the violent Pains he felt there; and that when a certain Physician seem'd to be more Inquisitive than the rest, about the Condition of those Parts, he was taken aside, and reprov'd for his Curiosity. And as one Suspicion begets another, there was likewise some Stress laid upon an Accident that fell out at *Windsor* some Years before. The King drinking more liberally than usual, after the Fatigue of Riding, retir'd to the next Room, and wrapping himself up in his Cloak, fell asleep upon a Couch. He was but a little time come back to his Company, when a Servant belonging to one of them, lay down upon the same Couch in the King's Cloak, and was found stabb'd Dead with a Poniard; nor was it ever known how it happen'd, nor any Enquiry made about it. Add to all these, that Dr. *Short*, a Catholick, and a Man of Probity and Learning, did not stick to declare to some of his intimate Friends, *That he believ'd King Charles had foul Play given him*; and that when the Dr. came to Die himself, he express'd some Suspicions that he had met with the same Treatment, for opening his Mind too freely in that Point.

As King *Charles* liv'd generally belov'd, so he dy'd universally lamented: Most People extolling the Mildness of his Temper, and Peacefulness of his Reign, during which *England* had vastly increas'd in Riches, and but few reflecting, that the Softness and Luxuriousness of his Court, like an  
in

infectious Disease, had spread almost over the whole Nation, and broke the martial Spirit of the *English*; that his Alliances with *France*, and his Sale of *Dunkirk*, had cherish'd the growth of that formidable Power which still alarms all *Europe*, and lost to *England* her ancient Prerogative of holding the Ballance in *Christendom*; and lastly, that his being too kind to a *Popish* Brother, his believing too far a *Presbyterian* Plot, and suffering the Lord *Russel* and *Algernon Sidney* to be sacrific'd upon that Pretence, gave his Successor a Handle to set up Popery and an Arbitrary Government. If any thing can atone for the Errors of King *Charles's* Reign, 'twas his marrying the Eldest of his Nieces to the Prince of *Orange*, (which Lady the Parliament had in View in the Bill of Exclusion) and the Youngest to the Prince of *Denmark*, which he did against the Advice of the Duke of *York*, and in Spight of all the Sollicitations that were made him from Abroad, to marry them to Potent Princes of the *Catholick* Religion.

King *Charles II.* had scarce resign'd his last Breath, when his Brother, *James* Duke of *York*, second Son to King *Charles* the First, stept quietly into his Throne by the Name of *King James the Second*, and immediately after was proclaim'd King of *England*, *France*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, first in *London* and *Westminster*, and then throughout the whole Kingdom. One would have thought this New King would have met with some Opposition: For besides, that not many Years before almost all *England* seem'd to concur to exclude him from the Crown; and that since he was recall'd by his Brother, he had rais'd to himself a great many Enemies, 'tis certain he could not enjoy the Royal Dignity without breaking the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, whereby *Papists* are remov'd from all Places of Trust; but upon this Occasion the *English* chose rather to derogate from the strictness of their Laws, than be wanting in their Loyalty to their Natural Sovereign. They flattered themselves, that a Prince who had wrestled with so many Difficulties, upon the Account of his being a

1684. *Papist*, and who had before him the dreadful Example of a Father, who upon a bare Suspicion of having a Design to introduce *Popery*, had lost his Head upon a Scaffold; they flatter'd themselves, I say, that such a Prince would suffer them peacefully to enjoy their Religion, Laws. and Liberties. Thus abandoning themselves to Providence, all their former Heats and Animosities against the Duke of York, and even the very Memory of a *Bill of Exclusion*, seem'd to be now buried in Oblivion, amidst the loud Acclamations of his People at his Accession to the Crown.

King  
James's  
Speech to  
the Council.

The New King endeavour'd to confirm the favourable Sentiments the generality of his Subjects entertain'd of him, and to remove the Fears and Jealousies of the rest, by a plausible Speech he made to his Council the same Day his Brother dy'd, wherein he declar'd; *That since it had pleas'd God to Place him in that Station, to succeed so good and gracious a King, as well as so kind a Brother, he thought fit to tell them, that he would endeavour to follow his Brother's Example, more especially in that of his great Clemency and Tenderness to his People; that he had been reported to be a Man for Arbitrary Power, but that was not the only Story had been made of him; and that he would make it his Endeavour to preserve the Government, both in Church and State, as it was by Law establish'd. And thereupon he takes Occasion to Commend the Principles and Members of the Church of England; and says, The Laws of the Land are sufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as he can wish to be; and therefore as he would never depart from the just Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, so he would never invade any Man's Property. But it was not long before it appear'd either that King James did not then speak his real Intentions, or that the fond Insinuations of a domineering bigotted Wife, and the Instigations of Popish Priests and Jesuits, were more prevailing with him than this Maxim, That if Truth and Honesty were lost, one ought to look for them amongst Kings; or indeed, than his true Interest; for had he perform'd what he promis'd in his Speech, he might have*

have been as glorious a Monarch as ever sway'd the *English Scepter*. 1684.

The first Days of King *James's* Reign were spent in writing Letters to divers Princes ; in receiving the Compliments both of Condoleance and Congratulation of those Foreign Ambassadors and Ministers, who happen'd then to be in *London*, in Interring the Body of the late King, which was done without any manner of Pomp ; (and which made some People not stick to say, That King Charles *was buried more like a Private Man and a Stranger, than like a Prince and a Brother.*) And in settling the Officers of the Houshold, and bestowing Civil and Military Employments. Among the rest the Duke of *Ormond*, was made Lord Steward ; the Earl of *Arlington*, Lord Chamberlain ; Viscount *Newport*, Treasurer ; the Lord *Maynard*, Comptroller ; *Henry Savile*, Esq; Vice-Chamberlain of the Houshold ; *Henry Bulkeley*, Esq; Master of the Houshold ; and Sir *Stephen Fox*, Eldest Clerk of the Green-Cloth, in which Offices they respectively serv'd King *Charles* the Second. Moreover, His Majesty constituted the Earl of *Rochester*, (who was then President of the Council) Lord High-Treasurer of *England* ; the Marquis of *Hallifax*, President of the Council ; the Earl of *Clarendon*, Lord Privy-Seal ; the Duke of *Beaufort*, Lord President of *Wales* ; and the Lord *Godolphin*, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen.

The next *Sunday* after his Brother's Death, King *James* went publickly to *Mass* in St. *James's Chapel*, openly declaring himself a Papist, though in the former Reign some Men had been severely used, for barely saying that he was of that Perswasion. People discours'd variously about this Affair, some commending him for not dissembling his Religion ; others saying that it was Impolitickly done ; and that if he intended to countenance *Popery*, and overturn the establish'd Religion, it would certainly terminate in his own Ruin. The next step King *James* made, most plainly shew'd whither he was going, and expected to be follow'd by all that intended to share his Favours : For before his Bro-

1684.



ther's Ashes were cold in his Grave, he caus'd it to be publish'd and attested by Father *Huddleston*, that he died in the *Communion of the Church of Rome*, and printed it with the Papers taken out of his Brother's Strong Box; shewing, *That though he outwardly pretended otherwise in his Life, yet in his Heart he was truly a Roman Catholick*. This could never be interpreted, maintaining the Church of *England*, no more than his publishing a Proclamation for levying that part of the Customs, that had been granted to King *Charles* only for Life, was an Argument he would never *Invalidate any Man's Property*; so that the two great things he promis'd in his Speech to the Council, were the very first things in which he broke his Royal Word; for raising Money without Consent of Parliament, could have no other Design, but to shew that he intended to set up an absolute Government; for otherwise it was needless at that time, since a Parliament was to meet within a few Days, which undoubtedly would, in a legal manner, continue the same Customs for his Life, as they had been for his Brother's.

Address  
from the  
Middle-  
Temple.

To justify, at least to colour, this Arbitrary Proceeding, the Court industriously procur'd the following Address from the *Middle-Temple*. Most dread Sovereign, *We Your Majesty's most Loyal Subjects, with all Humility Congratulate the Legal and Peaceable Descent of this Imperial Crown upon Your Majesty, the only Remedy for our unspeakable Sorrow, for the Death of our most Gracious Sovereign, of ever glorious and blessed Memory.* ----- *Your Majesty's unparallel'd Justice, Courage and Conduct (signaliz'd to the World before they became Ornaments to the Crown) give a perfect Assurance of Happiness to these Nations under your Government. We cannot therefore but with the deepest Sense of Gratitude, acknowledge Your Majesty's great Goodness and Condescension in your late Declaration, and in particular that Your Majesty has been graciously pleas'd, in pursuance of the same, to extend your Royal Care of the Government to the Preservation of the Customs, the Intermission whereof would not only have disabled Your Majesty to maintain the Navy in De-*

*fect*

## The Reign of King JAMES II.

1687.

fence of the Realm, but by taking away the Ballance of Trade, have ruin'd Thousands of Your Majesty's Subjects that paid Custom, in the Life of our late Sovereign, and by an excessive Exportation and Importation Custom-free, have rendred that Branch of the Revenue unprofitable for some Years to come, notwithstanding all the Care and Loyalty of the succeeding Parliament. For which Reasons the same have been continually receiv'd by Your Royal Predecessors for some Hundred of Years, and never question'd by any Parliament, unless in that wherein were sown the Seeds of Rebellion against the glorious Martyr, Your Royal Father of ever blessed Memory.

'Tis a receiv'd Maxim of the common Law, *The-  
saurus Regis est Vinculum Pacis & Bellorum Nervi:* Such is the happy Constitution of this Monarchy, that Your Majesty's high Prerogative is the greatest Security of the Liberty and Property of the Subject, so that whoever would impair the Revenue of the Crown, must by this Fundamental Law, (as binding as Magna Charta) be esteem'd an Enemy to the Peace and Welfare of this Kingdom.

We therefore think it our indispensable Duty to endeavour the Choice of such Representatives for the respective Counties and Boroughs to which we belong, as may not only concur in settling a Revenue to support the Government as formerly, but also shew a grateful Sense of the great things you have done and suffer'd for us already; an entire Confidence in Your Majesty's Goodness towards us for the future, and a chearful Compliance with Your Heroick Inclinations to advance the Honour and Interest of these Nations. May there be never wanting Millions as Loyal as we are to sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes in Defence of Your Sacred Person and Prerogative in its full Extent, and incessantly pray the King of Kings, to grant Your Majesty a long and happy Reigover us. This Address, said to be penn'd by Bartholomew Shore, Esq; was presented by Sir Humphrey Mackworth, accompanied with a great many Barristers and Students, being introduc'd by the Duke of Beaufort.

All this while the several Corporations of the Kingdom were eager to express their Loyalty, and by  
humble



1684. humble Addresses to congratulate His Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne. Nay, the very Quakers, tho' a People who profess an Abhorrence for Complimenting, waited on the King with an Address, which was so artfully worded, as to confirm the Opinion of those who believed the Jesuits to be the Ringleaders of that Sect; and which was to this purpose. *We are come to testify our Sorrow for the Death of our good Friend Charles, and our Joy for thy being made our Governour. We are told thou art not of the Perswasion of the Church of England, no more than we; wherefore we hope thou wilt grant us the same Liberty which thou allowest thy self: Which doing, we wish you all manner of Happiness.*

The Quakers Address.

Oates's Sentence and Sufferings.

One might have expected, that a Prince, who had declared, *he would endeavour to follow his Brother's Example, more especially in that of his great Clemency*, would have signaliz'd the beginning of his Reign by some Acts of Mercy; but instead of that, at the Solicitation of the Jesuits, he caus'd Titus Oates, the famous Discoverer and Evidence of the Popish Plot, to be prosecuted with all the Rigour of the Law. In the Close of the last Reign Two Bills of Indictment for Perjury were preferr'd against this Informer, to which he pleading not Guilty, the Issues were to be try'd at Westminster the Term following, where now he was found guilty of Perjury upon both Indictments, and sentenc'd to be Whipp'd from Aldgate to Newgate the next Wednesday after, and the Friday following, but One Day between, from Newgate to Tyburn; which, thro' a special Order from the Court, and the Rewards given beforehand to the Executioner by several Papists, was executed with the utmost Severity. The Stripes of the first Whipping were so sore and green upon the second, that it was intolerable to behold, much more to suffer; and to this was added in the Sentence, *That he should stand in the Pillory Five times in the Year, remain a Prisoner during Life, and pay a Fine of a Thousand Marks for each Perjury.* That in King Charles the Ild's time there was a Popish Plot, and that there always has been

A genuine Account of the Popish Plot.

One



One since the Reformation, to support, if not restore the *Romish* Religion, is acknowledg'd by all: And how far the nearer Prospect of a *Popish* Successor, ripen'd the Hopes, and gave new Vigour to the Designs of that Party, and what sinister Methods they were then upon, to bring those Designs about, *Coleman's* Letters are a sufficient Demonstration. But what Superstructures were afterwards rais'd upon an unquestionable Foundation, and how far some of the Witnesses of that Plot, either thro' Covetousness, Malice, or Revenge, might darken Truth, by subsequent Additions of their own, is still, and will, perhaps, ever remain undetermin'd. 'Tis true, some have lately endeavour'd to justify *Dr. Oates's* Depositions by *Ben. Hinton's* Books, and alledg'd, that if he was *perjur'd*, 'twas only thro' a Mistake of the *Old Stile* for the *New*; yet all must agree, that his brutish Animosity against the Duke of *York* made him often trespass upon the Respect which is ever due to Princes; but then again, a Man whom all the Nation began to abhor, was too poor a Victim for a Monarch, and the King of *England* ought to have disregarded the Injuries that had been offer'd to the Duke of *York*.

The Coronation of King *James II.* and his Queen was perform'd at *Westminster* with great Solemnity and Magnificence on the 23d of *April*, being the Festival of *St. George*. And immediately after His Majesty issued out Writs for the sitting of a Parliament on *May* the 22d; to whom, after having repeated the same Declaration he had before made to the Council, he proceeded to tell them, *That after having given them such Assurances, he could not doubt of a suitable Return on their part, and particularly in what related to the settling of his Revenue, as it was in his Brother's time, for which he might use many Arguments to enforce his Demands, from the Benefit of Trade, Supply of the Navy, the Necessity of the Crown, and the Well-being of the Government, which he would not suffer to be precarious; that he foresaw a popular Argument, which might be us'd against what he ask'd, from the Inclinations Men had for frequent Parliaments, which some would think might be best secur'd,*

*The King's Speech to the Parliament.*

1685. *Secur'd, by feeding him from time to time, by such Proportions as they should think convenient :- But that Argument, it being the first time he spake to them from the Throne, he would answer once for all, that that would be a very improper Method to take with him ; but on the contrary, that the best way to engage him to meet them often, was to use him always well ; and therefore he expected a speedy Compliance with his Demands now, that he might meet them again to all their Satisfaction.*

*The Parliament gives him a great deal of Money.*

This new way of caressing a Parliament, surpriz'd every Body, except the Parliament it self ; for most of its Members being, in a manner, moulded beforehand to the King's Will, they were so far from taking notice of His imperious manner of demanding, and what was more, of the grievous and dangerous State of the Nation, (as 'tis usual at a first Sitting of a Parliament, and was now most necessary upon the Death of King Charles II.) that instead of redressing any Grievance, they immediately gave His present Majesty a Revenue to enable him to Ruin both Church and State upon the Foundation his Brother had laid for him ; for besides their settling the Customs and Temporary Excise upon him, as they were before upon the late King, they laid a new Duty upon Wines and Vinegars, made an Act to lay an additional Custom upon Sugars and Tobacco, another laying an Impolition upon all *East-India* Linnen, and several other *Indian* Manufactures ; also upon all *French* Linnens, wrought Silks, and Stuffs, and Brandies. And that there might be a greater Correspondence between His Majesty and *France*, (tho' the Nation thought it too great already) the Act for prohibiting the Importation of *French* Goods and Manufactures was now fully repeal'd. There was also Five Shillings per Tun granted upon every Voyage, which any Foreign Ship should make from Port to Port in *England*, and Twelve-pence per Tun for every Voyage which a Foreign-built Ship, not free, should make ; so that in short, this Revenue, with the Hereditary Excise, and other Revenues of the Crown, have been computed to amount to *Two Millions,*

Millions, besides the Addition of his Private Estate he had when he was Duke of York, which was almost Three times more than any King of England ever had, except his Brother, and Henry VIII. 1685. *His Annual Revenue.*

The King, in the Close of the foremention'd Speech, acquainted the Parliament, *That he had News that Morning from Scotland, that the Earl of Argile was landed in the West Highlands with the Men he had brought along with him from Holland, and threatned to reward his Treason as it deserv'd.* He told them also, *That there were Two Declarations publish'd, one in the Name of all those in Arms there, and the other in his own.* He said in general of both, *That he was charg'd in them of Usurpation and Tyranny;* but he only communicated the last to them, contenting himself to cause the former to be inserted by Picce-meals in the Gazette, with short Animadversions upon it. The Parliament being unwilling to give the King any just Cause to distrust their Loyalty, *Resolv'd, by an unanimous Vote, to assist His Majesty with their Lives and Fortunes against the Earl of Argile, and all others His Enemies whatsoever.* The Bill for settling his Revenue being presented to him for the Royal Assent, he made them another memorable Speech, wherein he gave them Thanks, and in the Conclusion, to please the Nation with the Prospect of the Glories of his Reign, he boastingly told them, *He could not express his Concern upon that Occasion more suitable to his own Thoughts of it, than by assuring them he had a true English Heart, as jealous of the Honour of the Nation as theirs could be; and that he pleas'd himself with the Hopes, that by God's Blessing, and the Parliament's Assistance, he might carry the Reputation of it higher in the World, than ever it had been in the time of any of his Ancestors.*

The Defeat of the Earl of Argile, which happen'd some few Days after, seem'd to justify the King's Speech, and portend ill Success to all his Enemies. During the Troubles of Scotland, in the Year 1681. the Earl had been committed Prisoner

*The Rising and Defeat of Argile in Scotland.*

1685.



to the Castle of *Edinburgh* by the Parliament of the Kingdom; and soon after tried and found guilty of High-Treason, but by Means of his Friends Judgment was respited. His Life being in so imminent a Danger, he endeavour'd to make his Escape, which he effected by this Stratagem. The Countess of *Argile*, his Daughter, being come to visit him in Prison, he chang'd Cloaths with one of her Footmen, and when she went away, he followed behind her, holding up her Train. However, as he was still in danger of being known, he purposely dropt the Countess's Train into the Dirt; and the Lady, affecting to be provok'd with Anger by the Silliness of her Footman, she presently bedaub'd his Face with her draggled Train, which gave the Earl the Opportunity of escaping undiscover'd. Thereupon the Parliament pass'd on him Sentence for High-Treason, ordering the same to be put in Execution whenever he should be taken, and in the mean time declaring all his Estate forfeited to the King. Scarce did any Body know to what part of the World the Earl was fled, till upon the Death of King *Charles II.* having concerted Matters with the Duke of *Monmouth* in *Holland*, he parted from thence in May 1685. and with Three small Vessels sailed towards *Scotland*. He first attempted to make a Descent on the North of *Scotland*, but being disappointed by the Vigilance of the Bishop of the Isle of *Orkney*, who caus'd his Secretary and Chirurgeon to be secur'd, he landed in the *West Highlands*, at a Place call'd *Cample-Town*, alias *Lockhead*, on the 20th of the said Month, and pitch'd his first Camp near *Dunstafrage*, a ruinous Castle of his own in the Province of *Lorn*.

28 April,  
1685.

The King, who was apprehensive of an Insurrection in *Scotland*, ev'n before *Argile's* landing, caus'd a Proclamation to be publish'd at *Edinburgh*, setting forth, That forasmuch as those traiterous Conspirators, who design'd the horrid Murder of his dearest Brother, and the Destruction of his ancient Monarchy, continuing still in the same bellish Project and Fury against him, are now again setting their Designs on work, to raise Commotions in this his ancient Kingdom,

dom, as being the last Strugglings of them, and their execrable Party; for preventing thereof, the King does strictly require and command all and every of the Subjects of this his Realm, that they be in a Readiness, with their best Arms, to concur and assist him against any of the aforesaid Commotions or Insurrections, &c. As likewise he requires all his Lieges, on or near the Sea-Coasts of this Kingdom, so soon as they hear of any Vessels arriving at any Place from abroad, with Men, Arms or Ammunition, forthwith to convocate and rise in their best Arms, and to beat them off, or seize upon and secure the Ships and the Men, &c. And for their Security in obeying these his Royal Commands, he hereby fully pardons and indemnifies them for ever, of all Slaughter, Blood, Mutilation, Fire-raising, Burning of Ships, or such warlike Inconveniencies that may follow, in case they meet with hostile Opposition, &c.

On the other Hand, the Scotch Malecontents emitted Two Declarations, setting forth the Reasons which oblig'd them to take up Arms against the new King. The first was entitled, *The Declaration and Apology of the Protestant People, that is, of the Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgeses and Commons of all sorts now in Arms within the Kingdom of Scotland, with the Concurrence of the true and faithful Pastors, and of several Gentlemen of the English Nation join'd with them in the same Cause, &c.* By which they set forth, the great Advantages the Protestant Religion, both at home and abroad, had by the Success against King Charles the First, which they ascribe to the Blessing of God upon the Goodness of their Cause; They cry up the Loyalty of the Scotch-Covenanters, who had admitted his Son to reign upon certain Terms and Conditions, which he having broke, his Government was become Illegal, Arbitrary, Tyrannical, and a continued Apostacy. In particular, they accuse the Government of putting Men to Death contrary to Law; and desolating the Churches, changing the Ordinances of God, to the Inventions of Men; con- nizing at Papists, and keeping up of standing Forces, the Bane of Civil Government. They declare against the King's Supremacy, and all the Wats against the States

*The Decla-  
ration of  
the Scotch  
Malecon-  
tents.*

1685.

*States-General of the United Provinces; the Execution of many innocent Men, the Torture of Spence and Carltares, and the Forfeiture of the late Earl of Argile, &c. They declare against James Duke of York his Ascension to the Throne, as being excluded from it by the Commons of England. They declare likewise against the present House of Commons, as pack'd, and cabal'd, and return'd by Fraud and Injustice. For all which Reasons they declare, that they totally throw off all Bonds of Subjection, and do take up Arms against James Duke of York, and all his Accomplices, their most unnatural and wicked Enemies, for these Ends. First, The Restoring and Settling the Protestant Religion. Secondly, The Suppression, and perpetual Exclusion of Popery, and its bitter Root and Spring, Prelacy. Thirdly, The Restoring of all who have been Sufferers upon the Account of Adherence to their Party, for the pulling down of this present Government, and setting up another suitable to their Designs: And they declare, that they never will enter into any Capitulation or Treaty with the Duke of York, but on the contrary, Prosecute the War with all Reality, Constancy and Vigour, until they shall obtain their Ends; and that they will Assist and Maintain one another, especially their Brethren in England and Ireland, who shall pursue the same Ends. And Lastly, They promise Indemnity to those who have been formerly their Enemies, upon their sincere Repentance, joining with them, and vigorously Assisting them against a Persecuting Tyrant, and an Apostate Party, &c.*

The second Declaration regarded only the Earl of Argile, and was as follows.

*The Earl of Argile's Declaration.*

*A Declaration of Archibald Earl of Argile, Lord Kintyre, Cowal, Campbell and Lorn, Heritable Sheriff, and Lieutenant of the Shires of Argile and Turbette, and Heritable Justice-General of the said Shires.*

*" I Shall not publish my Case, publish'd already  
 " in Print, in Latin, and in Dutch, and more  
 " largely in English; nor mean I to repeat the prin-  
 " ted Declaration emitted by several Noblemen,  
 " Gen-*



Gentlemen, and others of both Nations now in Arms, because the Sufferings of me and my Family are therein mention'd. I have thought it fit for me to declare for my self; that as I take up Arms against those who have appointed me to conduct them, for no private and personal End, only for those contain'd in the said Declaration, which I have concerted with them, and approv'd of; so I do claim no Interest, but what I had before the pretended Forfeiture of my Family, and have a sufficient Right to.

And that I do freely (and as a *Christian*) forgive all personal Injuries against my Person and Family, to all that shall not oppose, but join and concur with us in our present Undertaking, for the Ends mention'd in the said Declaration; and hereby I oblige my self never to pursue them in Judgment, nor out of Judgment. And I do further declare, That obtaining the quiet and peaceable Possession of what belong'd to my Father, and my self, before our pretended Forfeitures, I shall satisfy all Debts due by my Father, and my self, as any Heir or Debtor can be oblig'd.

And as my Faithfulness to His late Majesty and His Government has sufficiently appear'd to all unbiass'd Persons, void of Malice; so I do with Grief acknowledge my Fault, in too much complying with, and conniving at the Methods that have been taken to bring us to the sad Condition we are now in, tho', God knows, never concurring in the Design.

I have now, with God's Strength, suffer'd patiently my unjust Sentence and Banishment 3 Years and a half, and have never offer'd to make any Up-  
roar or Defence by Arms to disturb the Peace upon my private Concern; but the King being now dead, and the Duke of York having taken off his Mask, and abandon'd and invaded our Religion and Liberties, resolving to enter into the Government, and exercising it contrary to Law, I think it not only just, but my Duty to God and my Country, to use my utmost Endeavours to op-



1685. "pose and repress his Usurpations and Tyranny.

"And therefore being assisted, and furnish'd very nobly by several good Protestants, and invited and accompanied by several of both Nations to lead them, I resolve, as God shall enable me, to use their Assistance of all kinds, towards the Ends express'd in the said Declaration.

"And I do hereby earnestly invite and conjure all honest Protestants, and particularly all my Friends and Blood-Relations, to concur with us in the said Declaration; and as I have written several Letters, so having no other way fully to intimate my Mind otherwise, I do hereby require all my Vassals any where, and all within my several Jurisdictions, with their sensible Men within their Command, to go to Arms, and to join and concur with us according to the said Declaration, as they shall be answerable at their Peril; and that they obey the particular Orders they shall receive from me from time to time.

To back this Declaration, the Earl of *Argile* sent Letters to several of his Friends and Acquaintance, to desire their speedy Assistance; and detach'd his Two Sons to make Excursions about the Neighbourhood, and oblige some by Menaces, and others by Promises, to join with him; but all this without any great Success: For all the Men he could raise did not amount to above Three or Four Thousand, with whom having march'd to the Town of *Rosa*, in the Isle of *Boat*, and pitch'd there his Camp, he was soon after pursued, and almost surrounded by the Earl of *Dumbarton*, General of the King's Army, and by several other Bodies commanded by Duke *Gordon*, the Marquis of *Arbol*, the Earl of *Arran*, and other Lords, who hastned from all Parts to quench the Fire of Rebellion before it broke out into a Blaze.

The Malecontents being much inferiour both in Number and Strength, the Earl of *Argile* abandon'd a Post which he was not able to maintain, and march'd with his small Army into the Province



vince that bears his Name ; where having fortified a Castle call'd *Ellengreg*, as well as the Haste he was in would let him, he lodg'd there his Arms and Ammunition, having caus'd his Ships to anchor under the Cannon of a little Fort, built for that Purpose near the Castle. Here began his Overthrow : For having left the Castle, in order to make Inroads, one of his Parties was defeated by the Marquis of *Arbol*, with the Loss of about 200 Men ; and at the same time Captain *Hamilton*, who with a Squadron of the King's Ships was in quest of those of the Earl, seiz'd first upon these, and afterwards made himself Master of the Castle, without any Opposition. Thereupon the Earl of *Dumbarton* marching with all speed towards the Malecontents, who endeavour'd to cover themselves by Rivers and Marshes, overtook them at the Passage of *Clyde*, in the Parish of *Killerne*, making towards *Lenox*. The Earl arriving late in the Evening, did not think fit to attack the Enemy before the next Day ; but they considering the Superiority of the Royal Army, past the River in great Haste and Disorder by Night, and were no sooner got over, but being seiz'd with Fear and Consternation, they presently dispers'd themselves. The Earl of *Argile*, with much ado, kept a small Guard about his Person, which however soon abandon'd him, the Earl of *Dumbarton* having by that time past the River, and sent out several Parties in Pursuit of the Fugitives. At *Renfrew* Sir *John Cochran* undertook to furnish the Head of the Malecontents with Guides to conduct him safe to *Galloway* ; but being by them led into a boggy Place, on Pretence, or with Intention to bring him off from the King's Army, most of those who still follow'd him were oblig'd to leave their Horses, and every one shifted for himself. The Earl of *Argile* was returning all alone towards the River *Clyde*, when Two sturdy Fellows, who belong'd to *Greynock*, an Officer in the King's Army, having met him, without knowing who he was, bid him stand and surrender. He answer'd them with a Shot, but miss'd them : They happen'd to be

1685:



better Marks-men, and wounded him with a Pistol-shot. Thereupon the Earl taking both his Pistols, left his Horse, which could go no further for Weariness, and making towards the River, begun to step into the Water. A Peasant who accompanied the first Aggressors of the Earl, follow'd him close with a Pistol in his Hand: The Earl would have made a Shot at him, but his Pistol mis-served, and the Country Fellow gave him a Wound in the Head, which stunn'd him so as he fell, and by reason of the Pain he felt at the Blow, cry'd out, *Oh! unfortunate Argile!* By which, having discover'd himself, they presently took him, and deliver'd him into the Hands of the King's Officers. Never was a Prisoner of that Character us'd with more Ignominy than this unhappy Earl; who like a common Malefactor, was first conducted to *Glasgow*, and then to *Edinburgh*, bareheaded, and the Hangman walking before him with his Ax. A few Days after he was beheaded, and his Head set up on the Castle of *Edinburgh*. 'Tis said that before he dy'd he complain'd of the Duke of *Monmouth*, both for neglecting to send him timely Succours, and for his assuming the Title of King, contrary to the Promise he had made him, of concurring with him in setting up a Commonwealth. *Richard Rumbold*, the Malster, at whose House, as some pretend, the Conspirators were to attempt the late King's Life, in his Return from *New-Market*, and who landed with *Argile*, was try'd, found guilty, and hang'd Four Days before the Earl was executed. But Sir *John Cockram*, who was likewise come over from *Holland* with *Argile*, and had made a Shew of gathering Forces for him, escap'd with Impunity, which made People generally believe that he had betray'd his Leader, as did soon after the Lord G—. However it was, thus fell the unfortunate Earl of *Argile*, whose Father after having a long time stickled for a Republican Government against King *Charles I.* and vigorously oppos'd the Restoration of King *Charles II.* lost his Head upon a Scaffold in the Year 1661.

*Argile's*

*Argile's* Infurrection was scarce suppress'd, when a greater Storm rais'd in the *West of England* by the Duke of *Monmouth*, alarm'd the new King. The Duke was natural Son to King *Charles II.* by Mrs. *Scot*, a Gentlewoman of a *Welsh* Family, to whom that Prince was said to have promis'd Marriage: I know the thing was never prov'd, but yet it is most certain that King *Charles* had ever express'd a particular Kindness and Deference to her; that in the Year 1656. being sent Prisoner to the *Tower* by *Cromwel*, a Letter sign'd with the King's Hand was found in his strong Box, whereby he order'd a considerable Pension to be paid to Mrs. *Scot*, with Promise to encrease it if God should restore him to his Throne; and that before he was arrested by the Usurper, he suffer'd his Servants to wait on her at Table kneeling, and to pay her all the Demonstrations of Respect which are only due to a Queen of *England*. Add to this the extream Fondness which King *Charles* had to the very last for the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the great Titles, high Employments, and other Marks of Favour, whereby he distinguish'd him from all his natural Sons, and 'twill amount, at least, to a probable Conjecture that some secret Vow had pass'd betwixt the King and Mrs. *Scot*.

1685.  
Monmouth's  
Rebellion.

A short  
Account of  
the Duke  
of Monmouth,  
before his  
Rebellion.

The Duke of *York* being himself sensible of all this, had ever look'd upon the Duke of *Monmouth* as a secret Enemy, who, if any favourable Opportunity should offer, might become his Competitor in the Crown; but though he bore him an irreconcilable Hatred, he could never effect his total Ruin in King *Charles's* Reign. The *Jesuits* left no Means untry'd to work him out of his Father's Favour: They us'd a Thousand Stratagems to render him Criminal; and succeeded at last in their Designs. The Duke was artfully engag'd in the *Shaftsburian* Plot, and upon the Discovery of it oblig'd to withdraw himself, till being follow'd by a Proclamation, he surrendered himself, and made a Confession of the whole Conspiracy; but without the least Design upon King *Charles's* Life, which he said was never thought of. Upon this

1685. the King gave him his Pardon : Which he no sooner was Master of, but he began to excuse most of the Conspirators, and to palliate what he had said to His Majesty in private ; whereupon the King, instigated by his Brother, requir'd it under His Hand : The Duke yielded to Necessity, and subscrib'd a Writing of the same Importance with the Confession he had made to the King ; but afterwards desiring the Writing might be restor'd to him, the King told him, He would no longer keep it, but withal commanded him to leave the Kingdom, having first engag'd him to promise, that he would never take up Arms against him or his Successor ; to secure whose Title he declar'd to his Council that he never made any Promise of Marriage to Mrs. Scot.

Thus the Duke of York had procur'd the Banishment of an Enemy, whom he had not been able to destroy ; and the Duke of *Monmouth* was now retir'd into *Holland*, where the favourable Reception he met from the Prince of *Orange*, made him almost forget he was in Exile. This good Usage stirr'd up the Envy of the Duke of York, and by his Insinuations, the Jealousie of King *Charles*, who thereupon desired the Prince of *Orange* to withdraw his Favour from the Duke of *Monmouth*. The Prince, knowing the Duke to be unjustly persecuted, was so far from minding the King's Request, that he continued his former Kindness and Respect to the Duke, and order'd his Troops to salute him when he should happen to be present at the Reviews. On the other Hand, the King had order'd Mr. *Cbudley*, his Minister at the *Hague*, to command his Troops in the *Dutch* Service not to take any Notice of the Duke : Which the Prince resented so highly, that he reprimanded *Cbudley* for offering to deliver Orders to Officers under his Command, without communicating the same to him. The *English* Envoy complain'd to his Master, who, thinking himself offended, forbid him to see the Prince. Things were at this Pass, when the Duke of York having succeeded his deceas'd Brother, and being still inveterately jealous of the Duke of *Monmouth*,



*month*, endeavour'd by his Envoy, Mr. *Skelton*, to get him secur'd, and sent into *England*. This Design could not be so secretly carried on, but that it came to the Knowledge of the Prince of *Orange*; who having more Generosity than to suffer an innocent, forlorn Man to fall a Prey to his implacable Persecutors, not only gave the Duke Notice of the Plot against him, by Monsieur *Bentinck*, his Favourite, but supply'd him with Money to go privately to *Brussels*; with a farther Assurance, That if he should go to the Campaign in *Hungary*, he would maintain him at his own Charge, with an Equipage suitable to his Quality. The Duke had not been long at *Brussels*, before the Marquis *de Grana*, Governour of the *Netherlands*, to comply with King *James's* Request, (in a Letter, wherein he charg'd the Duke with High-Treason) gave him Notice forthwith to depart the *Spanish* Dominions: Hereupon he privately return'd to *Holland*, where he found the Earl of *Argile*, the Lord *Grey*, Sir *John Cockram*, Colonel *Holmes*, *Ferguson*, *Rumbold*, and several *English* and *Scotch* Exiles, upon Account of the late Plot; who being equally enrag'd against King *James*, cherish'd the Duke's Resentment, and with him concerted Measures to revenge themselves on their common and irreconcilable Enemy. 'Tis said the Variety of their Opinions kept the Duke awhile in Suspence: The Earl of *Argile*, Sir *John Cockram*, *Rumbold*, and some others, were for changing the *English* Monarchy into a Commonwealth; but the Lord *Grey*, *Ferguson*, and the rest of that Party, fed him with the glittering Hopes of a Crown. His natural Ambition made him side with the last; but he was so wise as to conceal his Design from those who were against it, and manag'd the Earl of *Argile* so cunningly, that he pass'd with him for a good Republican. Preliminaries being thus adjusted, it was resolved that the Earl should make an Insurrection in *Scotland*, where his great Family and large Possessions gave him a vast Interest, and that the Duke should invade *England*.

1685.



Whilst these things were in Agitation, Mr. Skelton, by his Master's Order, made pressing Instance to the States to banish from their Dominions the *Rebellious English and Scots*, who lurk'd in their principal Towns, and plotted against His Majesty, and deliver'd to them a List of about a Hundred of these Malecontents; the States comply'd with the King's Desire; but notwithstanding the search that was made after the Persons nam'd in the List, the Earl of *Argile* made all things ready for his intended Expedition, and sail'd in *May* with Three Ships for *Scotland*.

Lands at  
Lyme.

These Preparations could not be made so secretly as to escape the Vigilance of Skelton, a zealous and faithful Minister, who upon the first Notice he had of them, us'd his utmost Endeavours to stop the Duke of *Monmouth's* Vessels; but all he could effect was only to deprive him of a small Frigate, so that the Duke sail'd with Three Ships out of the *Tech*, and safely landed at *Lyme*, in *Dorsetshire*, the 11th of *June*, with about Four-score Malecontents, whose Number soon after encreas'd to about 2000 Foot and 300 Horse.

The King, who had a Fleet cruising at Sea, flatter'd himself, that in case his Envoy had not been able to prevent the Duke's sailing from *Holland*, he could not but fall into the Hands of his Admiral; but he was not a little surpriz'd at the Arrival of an Express from the Mayor of *Lyme*, by whom he was inform'd, That the Duke had not only made himself Master of that little Town, but had likewise sent out several of his Followers into the neighbouring Counties to cause an Insurrection, and invite People to join with him; and that the better to compass his Ends, he had put out a Manifesto, entitled, The DECLARATION of JAMES Duke of MONMOUTH, and the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others now in Arms, for the Defence and Vindication of the Protestant Religion, and the Laws, Rights and Priviledges of *England*.



The King alarm'd at this News, assembled his Privy Council, and by their Advice issued out a Proclamation, whereby the Duke and all his Adherents were declar'd Traytors and Rebels; and the Parliament being then sitting, his Majesty acquainted both the Houses with the impending Danger, and receiv'd the same Day a very Loyal Address from each House, wherein they promised to expose their Lives and Fortunes in the Defence of his Rights, and Preservation of his Person. Soon after the Parliament caus'd the Duke's Declaration to be burnt by the common Hangman, which serving only to make People more eager to read it, and the Court being apprehensive how far it might favour the Duke's Designs, a Proclamation was publish'd, whereby it was made Treason to spread the said Declaration. The Parliament made also an Act, whereby *James Duke of Monmouth* was Attaint'd of High-Treason; and in pursuance of which, another Proclamation was issued out, promising a Reward of Five Thousand Pounds to any one that should secure him Dead or Alive.

*Proceedings of the Court and Parliament against him.*

In the mean while the General of the Malecontents being inform'd that the Duke of *Albemarle* was not far from *Lyme*, with near 4000 Men under his Command, endeavour'd to bring him over to his side; and as some say, writ to him a Letter, subscrib'd *James Rex*, to which the Duke of *Albemarle* made Answer, *That he had never been a Rebel, nor ever would be one.* Others pretend these two Letters to be spurious; but whatever they be, the Duke of *Monmouth*, either through a Principle of Religion, or as 'twas credibly reported, through want of Provisions, having caus'd a Fast to be observ'd at *Lyme*, march'd from thence to *Taunton*, another Town in *Somersetshire*, where he was receiv'd with unusual Demonstrations of Joy; and at the Solicitation of his Friends, and of the Country People, proclaim'd King. The beginning of his Chimerical Reign was signaliz'd by three Proclamations; the one setting a sum of Money on King *James's* Head; the second declaring the Parliament of *England* a Seditious Assembly; and the

*He marches from Lyme to Taunton, &c.*



1685. the third the Duke of *Albemarle* a Traytor, if he laid not down his Arms forthwith. Having staid there a while, he march'd in some kind of Order to *Bridgwater*, still encreasing his small Army; from thence to *Bath*, where he was denied Entrance, the Trainbands still flying two Days March before him, by Order from the Court, to give Pretence to the King to raise more Forces. At *Philip Norton*, by a Surprize or Ambush, he cut off the best part of a Troop of Horse of the King's Army; the Duke of *Grafton* narrowly escaping with his Life. Encourag'd by this Success he march'd within two Miles of *Bristol*, where having call'd a Council of War, he was advis'd not to enter that City, but to retreat back to *Bridgwater*, which false step began to Dishearten his Party, and hinder'd many from joining with him; whereas if he had enter'd *Bristol*, there being no Force to oppose him but the *Trainbands*, (and the generality of them for him, not only in their Hearts, but in open Discourses, and drinking his Health,) he might have furnish'd himself with Men, Arms and Money, and thence march'd into *Glocestershire* among the Clothiers, where great Numbers, and even Men of Quality, waited to join him; and by this means might have kept up the War, till he had shak'd King *James's* Throne, if not overturn'd it.

The Prince of Orange offers to come over to the King's Assistance. Upon King *James's* Accession to the Crown, the Prince of *Orange*, as became a Nephew and Son-in-law, try'd all possible Means to cultivate a sincere Friendship with him, and to persuade him to follow such Methods as might conduce to the common Safety of *Europe*, and the Happiness of *England*; which if King *James* had listen'd to, he would have preserv'd his Crown with Glory; and tho' the Prince had formerly taken the Duke of *Monmouth* into his generous Protection, yet as soon as he was inform'd that he had invaded *England*, was proclaim'd King, and began to gather Strength, he thought himself so far concern'd, that he not only dispatch'd over the Six *English* and *Scotch* Regiments in the Dutch Service, but also sent away Mon-

Monfieur *Bentinck* to the King, with Orders to acquaint him; that though he look'd upon the Duke of *Monmouth* to be a Man of no great Parts, yet that he had a Warlike Genius, and was better skill'd in the Military Art, than any the King was to Employ againſt him; and that therefore, if His Majesty pleas'd, he would not only lend him his Troops, but come in Perſon to Head his Army againſt the Rebels. But the ſame thing in effect having been communicated to *Skelton*, who look'd upon the Prince as one of thoſe great Politicians, whoſe Steps are always Suſpicious, he us'd ſuch Diligence as to give the King Notice of his Intention before Monfieur *Bentinck* could arrive; and that with ſuch unfavourable Interpretation upon the Prince's Offer, that the King put off Monfieur *Bentinck* with telling him, He ſhould acquaint his Maſter, that their common Interests did require the Prince his ſtaying in *Holland*; and giving him further to underſtand, that he did not take His Highneſs's Zeal for his Service to be at that Time ſeaſonable. 'Tis reported, that to encrease the King's Jealouſie of the Prince, the vigilant *Skelton* inform'd him of a ſecret Promise the Duke of *Monmouth* had made the Prince of Reſigning to him the Throne of *England*, as ſoon as he ſhould have turn'd King *James* out of it; and that the Breach of this Promise, evidenc'd by the Duke's ſuffering himſelf to be proclaim'd King, was the true Reaſon of the Prince's Indignation againſt him.

*His Offer  
is refus'd.*

However, the King did well enough at this Time without the Prince's Aſſiſtance, and was ſerv'd not only with Zeal, Fidelity and Affection, but alſo with Skill, Courage and Conduct by his own Troops and their Leaders. The Dukes of *Grafton*, *Albemarle*, *Somerſet*, and *Beaufort*, who commanded ſmall Bodies; the Earl of *Feverſham*, General of the Army, the Lord *Churchil*, Colonel *Oglethorp*, and ſeveral other brave Officers, ſo cloſely beſet the Duke of *Monmouth*, that ſeeing his Men daily Deſert in great Numbers, he reſolv'd to make one deſperate Puſh for all, and to fight with unequal Force, either to Vanquiſh or Die like a Man of Cou-

1685. *Courage.* Thereupon he march'd out of *Bridgewater* by Night, with Design to surprize the King's Army, which then lay encamp'd at *Sedgemoor*; but his Guide mistaking his Way in the Dark, the Duke's ill Fate led him upon a Battalion of *Dunbarton's* Regiment plac'd in his Way, who encountering him, alarm'd King *James's* whole Army with whom he engag'd. The Fight was obstinate and dubious for a while: For although Colonel *Oglethorpe* had quickly broke the Rebels Horse, commanded by the Lord *Grey*, who made but a faint Resistance; yet the Infantry fought with great Resolution, being headed by the Duke of *Monmouth*; who during the whole Action, maintain'd the Reputation of Bravery which he had gain'd in the World; but at last he was forc'd to yield; and the King's Army being much Superior both in Numbers, Artillery, and good Discipline, obtain'd a compleat Victory. A considerable Number of the Malecontents were kill'd upon the Spot, most of the rest were taken Prisoners, and the Duke had much ado to Preserve Fifty Horse to secure his Retreat; which however were soon dispers'd; so many Parties being sent after him, that he was constrain'd to retire almost alone into a Wood. The common People, who ever side with the Conqueror; and who were excited besides by the Reward promis'd to any one that should secure *Monmouth*, us'd so extraordinary Diligence, that the next Day after the Fight the Lord *Grey* was taken in a Peasant's Habit; and the next Day after that the Duke of *Monmouth* himself was found in a thick Bush, cover'd with a tatter'd Cloak, and trembling either with Cold, or Fear. 'Tis said he was discover'd by the Faithfulness of one of his Dogs, who having lost his Master the Day of the Fight, follow'd him by the Scent, and stopt at the Place where he had taken Shelter.

Mon-  
mouth  
routed July  
the 6th.

'Tis an easie matter to contract a Familiarity with Danger, when a whole Army bears a share in it, and when the eager Pursuit of Honour and Glory makes us overlook the Horrors of approaching Death; but when she appears with the  
ghastly

ghastly Pomp of a Scaffold and an Ax, the greatest Heroes generally behold her like other Men, and cannot but be terrify'd at the Sight. Thus the Duke of *Monmouth* was no sooner taken, but thinking himself already in the Hands of the Executioner, his former Spirit sunk into Pusillanimity, which made him meanly endeavour to ward off the impending Blow, by the following submissive Letter which he wrote to the King from *Kingwood*.

1685:

Sir,

“ Your Majesty may think it is the Misfortune *The Duke*  
 “ I now lye under, makes me make this Appli- *of Mon-*  
 “ cation to you : But I do assure your Majesty, it *mouth's*  
 “ is the Remorse I now have in me, of the Wrong *Letter to*  
 “ I have done you in several things ; and now in *King*  
 “ taking up Arms against you. For my taking up *James.*  
 “ Arms, it never was in my Thoughts since the  
 “ King died : The Prince and Princess of *Orange*  
 “ will be Witness for me of the Assurance I gave  
 “ them that I would never stir against you. But  
 “ my Misfortune was such, as to meet with some  
 “ horrid People, that made me believe things of  
 “ Your Majesty, and gave me so many false Argu-  
 “ ments, that I was fully led away to believe, that  
 “ it was a Shame, and a Sin before God, not to  
 “ do it. But, Sir, I will not trouble Your Ma-  
 “ jesty at present with many things I could say for  
 “ my self, that, I am sure, would move your Com-  
 “ passion. The chief end of this Letter being  
 “ only to beg of you, that I may have that Happi-  
 “ ness as to speak to Your Majesty : For I have  
 “ that to say to you, Sir, that, I hope, may give  
 “ you, a long and happy Reign. I am sure, Sir,  
 “ when you hear me, you will be convinc'd of the  
 “ Zeal I have for your Preservation, and how  
 “ heartily I Repent of what I have done. I can  
 “ say no more to Your Majesty now, being this  
 “ Letter must be seen by those that keep me. There-  
 “ fore, Sir, I shall make an End, in begging of  
 “ Your Majesty to believe so well of me, that I  
 “ would rather Die a Thousand Deaths, than excuse  
 “ any

1685.

“ any thing I have done, if I did not really think  
 “ my self the most in the Wrong that ever a Man  
 “ was ; and had not from the bottom of my Heart  
 “ an Abhorrence for those that put me upon  
 “ and for the Action it self. I hope, Sir, God  
 “ mighty will strike your Heart with Mercy and  
 “ Compassion for me, as he has done mine with  
 “ the Abhorrence of what I have done. Wherefore,  
 “ Sir, I hope I may live to shew you how  
 “ Zealous I shall ever be for your Service ;  
 “ could I say but one Word in this Letter,  
 “ would be convinc’d of it ; but it is of that Con-  
 “ sequence, that I dare not do it. Therefore, Sir,  
 “ I do beg of you once more to let me speak  
 “ you ; for then you will be convinc’d how much  
 “ I shall ever be,

*Your Majesty's most*

*Humble and Dutiful,*

MONMOUTH

This Letter had been little regarded, if at the  
 same time the Duke had not writ another, in very  
 moving Terms, to the Queen Dowager ; who having  
 ever had an Affection for him, and being now  
 touch’d with Pity for his Misfortunes, prevail’d  
 with the King that he should suffer the Duke to  
 speak to him. The Duke being brought to the  
 King’s Presence, fell presently at his Feet ; and ha-  
 ving answer’d the several Questions the King ask’d  
 him, and confess’d he deserv’d to Die, he conjur’d  
 him, with Tears in his Eyes, not to use him with  
 the severity of Justice, and to grant him a Life  
 which he would ever be ready to Sacrifice for his  
 Service. He mention’d to him the Examples of  
 several great Princes, who had yielded to the Im-  
 pressions of Clemency upon the like Occasions,  
 and who had never afterwards repented of those  
 Acts of Generosity and Mercy ; and to make his  
 Heart relent by the soft Motions of Nature, he  
 told him, he was his Brother’s Son ; and that if he

he should take his Life, 'twould be his own Blood he should spill. The King was not so hard-hearted as to tell him, *That when he was troubled with ill Blood, he gave his Arm to his Surgeon to let it out;* as the barbarous Philip II. told his Son, Don Carlos, whom he had condemn'd to Die; but however, he was not so generous as to suffer him to Live. He answer'd, He was sorry for his Misfortune; that his Crime was of too great Consequence to be left unpunish'd; and that he must of necessity fall a Victim to Reasons of State; and accordingly he was sent to the Tower, where the next Day but one after his Arrival he was Executed, unheard, by Virtue of an Attainder past upon him in Parliament. 'Tis Remarkable, that before he submitted his Neck to the Ax, he deliver'd a Paper, wherein in a Prophetical Spirit, he plainly foretold the wonderful Deliverance of the People of England, which Providence has since wrought by King William. Thus ended his Days; James Duke of Monmouth, a Man of more Bravery than Conduct; who putting great Confidence in popular Affection and Assistance, fram'd the *Romantick* Design of invading a Kingdom; and who with a handful of Men, without Arms, Provisions, Martial Discipline, or any Place of Strength to retire to in case of Accidents, had certainly bid fair for a Crown, if the Treachery of the Lord G— had not occasion'd his Defeat. He was extreamly Handsome, and of noble Aspect; Generous, Affable, Constant in his Friendship, Just to his Word, and an utter Enemy to all sorts of Cruelty. 'Tis true, he was too easie in his Nature, and too fond of popular Applause, and those over-weenings led him insensibly into all his Misfortunes. In short, he was unhappy, not only in the manner of his Death, but the Education of his Youth; whereby he became too much tainted with the Vices of the then Court; but he said himself upon the Scaffold, and acknowledg'd it for a Mercy, that for two Years before he had apply'd himself to Study and the Practice of Religion in his Retirement; but was unfortunately drawn into that Conspiracy, which

1685.

Monmouth  
beheaded  
July 16.

His Character.

168.5 which cost him his Life. As for the Lord G. who certainly deserv'd the same Treatment, Treachery pleaded for him with King James, who soon after sign'd his Pardon.

*Bloody Assizes in the West.*

The rest of the Rebels did not meet with the same Favour; for whereas wise and good Princes content themselves upon such Occasions with punishing the Ring-leaders, and some few of their Adherents; by a Barbarity not to be parallel'd in the Reigns of *Nero, Caligula*, and the most Celebrated Tyrants, not only those who had been actually in Arms with the Duke of *Monmouth*, but even those who had any ways assisted, or so much as harbour'd them, were equally involv'd in the Crime of his Insurrection. Considering how the severity of *English* Laws is generally mitigated by the Mildness of the Judges, Posterity will hardly believe the Cruelties committed by the Lord Chief Justice *Jeffreys*; who with four other Judges his Assistants, and a Body of Troops commanded by *Kirk*, was sent into the *West* of *England*, with a special Commission to try the poor Wretches. I wish I could spare my Reader the Horror which the Account of these *Bloody Assizes* will certainly create in any Human Breast; but the severe Laws of History will not suffer me to pass over in Silence the following Particulars. At *Winchester*, *Mrs. Alicia Lisle*, a Woman of extream Age, was try'd for concealing Mr. *Hick's*, a Non-Conformist Minister, and *Richard Nelthrop*, (the latter being a Stranger, and the former in no Proclamation) and tho' the Jury brought her in three times *Not Guilty*; yet *Jeffreys's* Threats so far prevail'd, that she was at last found Guilty of High-Treason, and Beheaded for it. From *Winchester* *Jeffreys* posted to *Dorchester*, where understanding there were Thirty Persons that had been found by the Grand Inquest, to have been assisting to the Duke of *Monmouth*, he contriv'd this Stratagem to dispatch them: When they came upon their Trials, and before they had pleaded, he told them, That whosoever pleaded *Not Guilty*, and was found otherwise, should have little Time to Live; and if any expect-



ed Favour, they must plead *Guilty*. But the Prisoners would not trust him, though it had, in a manner, been all one to them, for of the 30, 29 were found *Guilty*, and soon after executed; as were also 80 more out of 243, who were deluded to plead *Guilty* to their Indictments by a Promise of Pardon. The same was done at *Exeter* to near as many, who were entrapt by the same Decoy; as also at *Taunton* and *Wells*, where *J-----ys* finish'd his *Bloody Assizes*, and in which two Places, (in pursuance of a Letter from King *James*, intimating, *That he was fain to be Chancellor himself, and therefore had him dispatch the Business before him*) he condemn'd above 500 Persons, whereof 239 were executed, and had their Quarters set up in the principal Places, and Roads of those Countries. However *J-----ys*'s Cruelty yielded often to the more prevailing Motives of his insatiable Avarice; and he was not more hasty to hang up those that had no Money, than he was Zealous to procure Indemnity to those that were Rich. Pardons now were just as they are at *Rome*, not according to the Offence, but the Ability of the Person, from 10 Pounds to 14000 Guineas, which last Sum this Judge of Iniquity did not scruple to take from Mr. *Sp-----s*, and with which he bought an Estate, that may be justly call'd, *The Field of Blood*. Even the *Taunton* Virgins, whose only Crime was to have presented the Duke of *Monmouth* with Colours, were oblig'd to pay some 50, 40, 30, 20, and others 10 Pounds, for their Pardons; in short, if a great many lost their Lives, 'twas because few had Money enough to preserve them; and those poor Wretches, who could not purchase Pardons at *Jeffreys*'s Rate, were sold for Slaves into the *American* Plantations. 'Tis said, that after this barbarous Expedition, *Jeffreys*, a Man of a Sarcastick Abusive Wit, was heard to boast with a sort of brutish Pleasure, *That he had Hang'd more Men than all the Judges of England since William the Conqueror*. A Boast much like that of the Duke of *Alva*, whose Blood-thirstiness seem'd to be transfus'd into him. Some *Roman* Catholics \* affirm that King *James*

\* Hist. de  
Revol.  
d' Angle-  
terre.



1685. was no sooner inform'd of *Jeffreys's* Cruelties, but he shew'd his Indignation at his unwarrantable Proceedings; which however can hardly be reconcil'd, with his making him soon after *Lord Chancellor*, in Consideration of the many Eminent and Faithful Services he had rendred the Crown, as well in the *Chancellor*, late King's Time, as since His Majesty's Accession to the Crown.

*The Lord Jeffreys made Lord Chancellor, Sept. 28.*

'Tis true, Judge *Jeffreys* was not the only Person that executed the King's Orders; for Colonel *Kirk*, a Soldier of Fortune, and a Man of bold Spirit, but loose Principles, did also act a considerable Part in these horrid Tragedies. After the Duke's Defeat, he caus'd Ninety wounded Men at *Taunton* to be hang'd, not only without permitting their Relations to speak to them, but with Pipes playing, Drums beating, Trumpets sounding, and all other Military Rejoicings. At another Town he invited his Officers to Dinner, near the Place where some of the condemn'd Rebels were to be Executed, and ordered Ten of them to be turn'd off with a Health to the King, Ten in a Health to the Queen, and Ten more in a Health to *Jeffreys*. These Cruelties he afterwards endeavour'd to palliate, by pretending he did nothing but by express Order from the King and his General; But his decoying a fair Virgin to his Embraces, with the Promise of saving her Brother's Life, and nevertheless causing him to be hang'd on the Sign of the House where he had glutted his brutal Lust, and presenting the credulous abus'd Damsel with the barbarous Spectacle, this, I say, is such a piece of Treachery, as the Roman General, \* so fam'd in Story for his Continency, though a Heathen, would certainly have punish'd with immediate Death.

\* Scipio.

*Dangerfield try'd and sentenced, June the 28th 1685.*

While things were thus carried on with a high Hand in the *West*, by Virtue of this Extraordinary Commission, they were not more moderate in the Administration of ordinary Justice in the Courts of *Westminster*. *Thomas Dangerfield* in his Depositions before the Parliament 1680, having reveal'd that he was employ'd by the *Popish Party*, and chiefly by the Lords in the Tower, and the Coun-  
tels

of *Powis*, to kill the King, and was promis'd Impunity and a Reward, part of which he had receiv'd of the Duke of York; was now prosecuted and try'd in *Westminster-Hall*, upon a *Scandalum Magnatum*, and as Juries went, found Guilty, and receiv'd Judgment at the King's Bench-Bar, that he should stand twice in the Pillory, that he should be whipt from *Aldgate* to *Newgate*, and from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*; and that he should pay a Fine of 500 Pounds. In his Return from *Tyburn* towards *Newgate*, after his whipping, being in a Coach, he had Reproachful Words given him, and was run into the Eye with a Tuck at the end of a Cane, by one *Robert Francis*, a virulent *Papist*, of which with the Pain of his whipping, he died soon after; though it is still a Question whether he died of the Wound, or by the severity of his Punishment. However, *Francis* was justly executed for it, the Court thinking it would appear too plain a Partiality to pardon so foul an Act. The Discovery that *Dangerfield* made, was that which was then call'd the *Meal-Tub-Plot*, which was to have thrown the *Popish* Plot upon the *Presbyterians*. His Narrative was order'd to be printed by the House of Commons on *November* 10th 1680, but notwithstanding that Order, their Speaker, Mr. *Williams*, was afterwards fin'd Ten Thousand Pounds for Licensing it to be printed, but came off with paying 8000 l. The same Term *Dangerfield* was try'd, Mr. *Richard Baxter*, a Worthy and Learned Divine among the Dissenters, was fined 500 Marks, and bound to his good Behaviour during Life, for Writing and Publishing some Annotations on the New-Testament, which were by the *Papists* interpreted Seditious and Scandalous.

And killed

Towards the latter end of King *Charles's* Reign, one *Keeling* made a lame Discovery of a Plot against the Government, only naming some mean Persons that were engag'd in the Design, who being apprehended to save their own Lives, they threw the whole Weight of the Conspiracy upon the Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earl of *Essex*, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Lord *Russel*, Colonel *Sid-*

1685. *ney, Sir Thomas Armstrong, Captain Walcot, Mr. Hambden, &c.* This was call'd the *Presbyterian* or *Protestant Plot*; which most People look'd upon as the Contrivance of the *Jesuits*, in order to baffle the *Popish Plot*; and to crush the Ringleaders of that Party, who for several Years had so warmly endeavour'd to prevent King *James's* Accession to the Throne. Many of these Conspirators had already been executed in King *Charles's* Reign, and the Court being now resolv'd to prosecute the rest, the Eloquent Pen of Dr. *Sp--t*, (not long before made B---p of R-----ter) was industriously set to Work to Varnish over, and Palliate the Flaws of *Keeling* and the other Witnesses Depositions. Accordingly in the beginning of *June* he publish'd, *An Account of the Horrid Conspiracy against the late King, his Present Majesty, and the Government*; adorn'd with all those Flourishes of Oratory, which are so far from persuading, that they rather give *Truth* an Air of *Fiction*; but however, as Affairs were then managed, a *Romance* was as fit to serve the Court as a true History.

Dr. Sp--t's  
Account of  
the pretend-  
ed Presby-  
terian Plot.

Mr. Cornish  
Executed.

In *October*, Mr. *Cornish*, an Eminent Trader of *London*, was committed close Prisoner to *Newgate*, and about a Week after try'd upon an Indictment of High-Treason, for having promis'd to be assisting to *James late Duke of Monmouth*, *William Russel, Esq;* &c. in their Treasons against *Charles II.* But the true Reason of this Prosecution was, that Mr. *Cornish*, when Sheriff of *London*, had been very Active against the *Popish* Conspirators, so that now his Blood must expiate his Zeal for the Protestant Religion. The only Witness against this Worthy Citizen was Colonel *Rumsey*, a flagitious Evidence; for as to *Goodenough*, what he depos'd did not affect him: However, Mr. *Cornish* was condemn'd and executed; much lamented by his Fellow-Citizens, as a Man unjustly sacrificed.

Soon after the Execution of the Duke of *Monmouth*, *George Speak*, *Francis Charleton*, *John Wildman*, Esqs; Colonel *Danvers*, and *John Trenchard*, Esq; were summon'd by Proclamation to appear, as being suspected of fomenting and carrying on Trai-

Traiterous Designs against the King; but they absconded; however, the Earl of *Stamford*, the Lord *Brandon Gerrard*, and the Lord *Delamere*, were taken and committed to the *Tower*. The Lord *Brandon Gerrard* was try'd at the *King's Bench-Bar*, *Novemb. 26.* for endeavouring to raise Rebellion, and Depose *Charles the Second*, and being found Guilty, receiv'd Sentence of Death; but afterwards he found Means to procure his Pardon. *Charles Bateman*, a Chirurgeon, was try'd, condemn'd, and executed for the same Treason, which was thought a Branch of the *Meal-Tub* Plot. *John Hambden*, Esq; was arraign'd for the same *Meal-Tub* Treason,\* and pleading Guilty, was immediately sentenc'd to Die, but afterwards pardon'd. The Lord *Delamere* being try'd by his Peers, (Chancellor *Jeffreys* being Lord High Steward,) upon an Indictment of *High-Treason*, for Conspiring to raise a Rebellion against *James the Second*, was honourably acquitted; it manifestly appearing, that *Thomas Saxon*, the principal Evidence against His Lordship, was Guilty of Perjury, for which he suffer'd condign Punishment. The Earl of *Stamford*, upon bringing his *Habeas Corpus* was admitted to Bail, and in the beginning of the Year 1686, he was pardon'd, and his Bail discharg'd. About the beginning of *March*, when even over-strain'd Justice could take Place no longer, out came a Pardon, which was call'd *General*, though the Number of the Persons Excepted, far exceeded that of those who were *Forgiven*; and indeed that Amnesty was so Abstruse, so Intricate, in a Word, so ridiculously Merciful, that none had Benefit by it, but those that never offended.

1685.

\* Decem.  
the 30th.

General  
Pardon  
March the  
10th 1686.

King *James* had now triumph'd over all his open Enemies, and would certainly have proved the happiest Prince that ever sway'd the *English* Scepter, if he had not cherish'd more dangerous Foes in his Bosom, and entertain'd the fond Design of setting up the *Po-pish* Religion, as the firmest Basis for an Arbitrary Government. He was no sooner seated on the Throne, but his High-spirited Bigotted Queen, his Father Confessor, and some Ambitious *Roman* Catholicks about him, made it their Business to insinuate to

King  
James's  
Design of  
making  
himself Ab-  
solute, and  
introducing  
Popery.

1685.

him, that his Authority would be precarious and unsettled, whilst the Fanaticks and Presbyterians, who had formerly disputed his Title, were still able to disturb him; that the seeming Loyalty of the Episcopal Party was only an Effect of their Animosity against the Dissenters, and therefore he ought to procure a Standing Army, and advance the Roman Catholics, on whose Fidelity he might depend, to Civil and Military Employments.

Closettings.

Good Advice given the King by his late Brother.

By the Spanish Ambassador.

And by the Pope.

The King being of a facile, manageable Temper, and one who seldom resolved upon any thing by his own Determination, was easily led into a Project that flatter'd the Ambition, all Princes naturally have of making themselves absolute. To put this Design in Execution, even before *Monmouth's* Rebellion, he began to Closet Men, and by fair Words and ample Promises endeavour'd to allure them to a Compliance with his Intentions of favouring Popery; but still he touch'd that Point very gently; for he had not yet forgot that his Brother had often, and particularly a little before his Death, advis'd him, *not to think of introducing Popery into England, it being a thing that was both Dangerous and Impracticable.* He also remembered, that *Don Pedro Ronquillo* the Spanish Ambassador, who was no ordinary Politician, at his first Audience after the Death of King Charles, having ask'd Leave to speak his Thoughts freely upon that Occasion, made bold to tell His Majesty, *That he saw several Priests about him, whom he knew would importune him to alter the establish'd Religion in England; but he desir'd His Majesty not to give Ear to their Advice, for if he did, he was afraid His Majesty would have reason to Repent it.* 'Tis reported that King James took ill the Liberty of the Spanish Ambassador, and ask'd him in a Passion, *Whether in Spain the Kings did not advise with their Confessors?* Yes, Sir, replied *Ronquillo*, they do, and that's the Reason our Affairs go so Ill. Nay, Pope Innocent the XI. writ a Letter to King James, upon his Accession to the Crown, to this Effect, *That he was highly pleas'd with His Majesties Zeal for the Catholick Religion; but he was afraid His Majesty might push it too far, and instead*

of contributing to his own Greatness, and to the Advancement of the Catholick Church, he might come to do it, and himself, the greatest Prejudice, by attempting that, which his Holiness was well assur'd by long Experience, could have no Success. These things, together with the Commotions which Monmouth and Argile had rais'd, prevail'd a while with King James to contain his immoderate Zeal for the Romish Religion; but now being elevated with his late Victories, and presuming much upon a House of Commons made up, for the most part, of his own Creatures, he thought it high Time to cast off the Mask, and to act without Disguise, what till then he had, in some Measure, endeavour'd to dissemble. But it appear'd upon this Occasion, what a Tenderness and Affection English Men have for their Laws and Liberties, and that a King of England will ever find it a hard Matter to make a House of Commons Accessary to the Enslaving of the Nation. This Parliament had shewn a more than ordinary Zeal in Attainting Monmouth, and had readily granted the King a Competent Supply to Suppress that Insurrection; but at the same Time to put His Majesty in mind of his repeated Promises, the lower House thought fit to pass this Unanimous Vote: *That they did acquiesce, and intirely relye, and rest wholly satisfied in His Majesties Word, and repeated Declarations to Support and Defend the Religion of the Church of England, as it is now by Law establish'd, which was dearer to them than their Lives.* This indeed they had Reason to expect in Return to their Affection and Loyalty, and the Confidence they repos'd in His Majesty; but it seems they were mistaken: For King James began to talk to them in a far different Strain than he had done before. And in another Speech from the Throne, gave them plainly to understand, that he was now Master, and that for the future he will not be Fetter'd by any Laws, but Govern by his own sole Will and Pleasure, supported by a Standing Army; nay, an Army partly Commanded by Catholics.

*He casts off  
the Mask.*

1685.  
 He makes  
 a Speech to  
 the Parlia-  
 ment in a  
 nother  
 Strain,  
 November  
 9th 1685.

No part of the English Constitution was better secur'd by Law, than that by which Roman Catholics were declar'd incapable of Places of Trust, either Civil or Military in the Government: And the King himself, when Duke of York, was forc'd by the Test Act to lay down his Office of High-Admiral, even at a time when he had not publickly own'd his Reconciliation to the Church of Rome. But now he attempted to break down this Barrier, and in his Speech to his Parliament told them: That after the Storm that seem'd to be coming when he parted from them last, he was glad to meet them again in so great Peace and Quietness, praising God Almighty, by whose Blessing that Rebellion was suppress'd; But when he reflected what an inconsiderable Number of Men begun it; and how long they carried it on without any Opposition, he hop'd every Body was convinc'd, that the Militia, which had been so much depended on, was not sufficient for such Occasions, and that there was nothing but a good Force of well disciplin'd Troops in constant Pay, that could defend him and them from such as either at Home or Abroad were dispos'd to disturb them. That his Concern for the Peace and Quiet of his Subjects, as well as for the Safety of the Government, made him think it necessary to encrease the Number to the Proportion he had done; that it was for the Support of this great Charge, which was now more than double than what it was before, that he asked their Assistance in giving him a Supply answerable to the Expences; and that he could not doubt, but what he had begun so much to the Honour and Defence of the Government, would be continued by them with all Chearfulness and Readiness. Then as to the main drift of his Speech, and to acquaint them with his fix'd Intentions, he added: Let no Man take Exception that there are some Officers in the Army not qualified, according to the late Tests, for their Employment: The Gentlemen, I must tell you, are most of them well known to me, and having formerly served me on several Occasions, and always approv'd the Loyalty of their Principles by their Practices, I think them now fit to be employ'd under me; and will deal plainly with you, that after having  
 had



had the Benefit of their Services in such a Time of Need and Danger, I will neither expose them to Dis-  
grace, nor my self to the Want of them, if there should be another Rebellion, to make them necessary to me. He concludes with telling them, That he was afraid some Men might be so wicked, to hope and expect that a Difference might happen between them and him upon that Occasion. But, added he, I will not apprehend that such a Misfortune can befall us as a Division, or but a Coldness between you and us; nor that any thing can shake you in your Steadiness and Loyalty to me, who, by God's Blessing, will ever make you Returns of Kindness and Protection, with a Resolution to venture, even my own Life, in the Defence of the true Interest of this Kingdom.

A great Weight has always been laid upon the Words which a King of England delivers from the Throne, as being suppos'd to be the Result of mature Deliberation; so that it is no wonder that this Speech surpriz'd a People, who upon so many Occasions have ventur'd their All for the Preservation of their Laws and Liberties, and thought themselves secure of them, both from the Constitution of the Government, and the solemn repeated Promises of their Prince. They found too late, that their Jealousies in the former Reign of a Popish Successor, were too well grounded, and how inconsistent a Roman Catholick King is with a Protestant Kingdom. The House of Lords debated, whether they should give the King Thanks for his Speech or not? Some of that August Assembly were for it, others very warmly oppos'd it; but the Marquis of Halifax, a Man of tart acute Wit, said by way of Irony, They had now more Reason than ever to give Thanks to His Majesty, since he had dealt so plainly with them, and discover'd what he would be at. What he meant for a Jest, was eagerly laid hold on by the Courtiers for Earnest; so that the Affirmative carried it, and the King was thank'd accordingly. But this Speech occasion'd a longer and warmer Debate in the House of Commons, where the Earl of Middleton mov'd to have it consider'd by Paragraphs. The said Lord, and the rest of the King's Creatures, represented, *How little*

*The Par-  
liament's  
Surprise.*

*Debates &  
but the  
King's  
Speech.*



1685.

Arguments  
against a  
standing  
Army.

*little the Militia was to be depended upon; that France was formidable; that Holland's Forces were greatly increas'd; and therefore that they must approve of His Majesties increasing his Forces in Proportion, and vote him a Supply to answer His present Occasions. Those who stood up for the Liberties of their Country, Vindicated the Militia, which in the late Rebellion had kept Monmouth from Bristol and Exeter; and which might be of great Use, if new modell'd. They express'd their Jealousies of Standing Forces, alleldg, That the Kingdom was guarded by Law; that they were in perfect Peace, the King both feared and loved, an Army little needed, Men justly afraid. That that which made the last Rebellion grow to a height was, because the Man that headed it was a Favourite of the Faction; and tho' he had got such a number, yet he was beaten by 1800 Men only. That the Army then consisted of 14 or 15000 Men, whereas the last Force, tho' not above half in number, preserv'd the Peace, and was sufficient to do it in the late King's time. That all the Profit and Security of this Nation is in our Navy; and had there been the least Ship in the Channel, it would have disappointed Monmouth. That supporting an Army, was maintaining so many idle Persons to lord it over the rest of the Subjects. That Standing Armies debauch'd the Manners of all the People, their Wives, and Daughters; That Plowmen and Servants quit all Country Employments, to turn Soldiers; and that a Court-Martial in time of Peace was most terrible. That they had rather pay double to the Militia, from whom they fear'd nothing, than half so much to those, of whom they must ever be afraid. That as for Officers employ'd, not taking the Test, it was dispensing with all the Laws at once. That if those Men were good or kind, they knew not whether it proceeded from their Generosity or Principles. That they must remember 'tis Treason for any Man to be reconcil'd to the Church of Rome, since the Pope by Law was declar'd an Enemy to this Kingdom. That a Supply given, as mov'd for, was a kind of establishing an Army by Act of Parliament; who when they had got the Power into their Hands, they themselves must then derive it from their Courtship. And therefore they urg'd to have the*

*Que-*

1685.

*Question be, That the Safety of the Kingdom does not consist with a Standing Force. To this the King's Creatures replied, That His Majesty in his Speech only said, That the Militia was not sufficient. That the late long Parliament always owned some Force necessary. That they were not to name the number; that the King was the best Judge of that, being a great Soldier, and a good Prince. That there was a bitter Spirit in the Three last Parliaments, not yet well allay'd, so that a considerable Force was needful, besides the Militia. That the Principle of the Rebel Party was never to repent; that an Island may be attack'd, notwithstanding any Fleet; that new Troops are not so good as old, and more subject to commit Disorders; and so they insisted upon a Supply. It was answer'd, That there was already a Law, that no Man shall on any Occasion whatsoever rise against the King; That Lords and Deputy-Lieutenants have Power to disarm the Disaffected; That if they gave thus a Supply, it was for an Army; and then might not that Army be made of those that would not take the Test? Which Act was not design'd a Punishment for the Papists, but a Protection for Protestants; That they were for mending the Militia, and make it such as the King and Kingdom might confide in it; That to trust to mercenary Force alone, was to give up all their Liberties at once; That 'twas for Kings to come to that House from time to time, on extraordinary Occasions, which they would not do any more, if that Army was provided for by Law; That Armies are useful, when Occasion is for them; but if they establish'd them, it would be no more in their Power to disband them; That there was not a Company form'd till 1588. and as soon as Queen Elizabeth had done with her Army, she disbanded it; That Armies had often been fatal to Princes; and that the Army in the late King's time often turn'd out their Leaders. As to the Supply, some were for giving it for the extraordinary Charge past only; others to reward the Officers not qualified, or to take them off some other way; others said that the King's Revenue was sufficient to maintain the Force on Foot. However the Question being put, That a Supply be given to His Majesty, it was carried in the Affirmative;*

1685. *mative ; but these Words, towards the Support of additional Forces, (which one of the Members moved might be added) were rejected, and instead of them it past, That the House be moved to bring in a Bill to make the Militia useful. The Sum demanded by the King's Agents was 1200000 l. which the rest thinking exorbitant, said, That the Measure of their Supply was their Security ; that the Use was to direct the Quantum ; that therefore 400000 l. was enough to maintain the additional Forces Two Years, till the Militia be made useful ; that they ought to leave the Door open for coming thither another time : Others said, That they had, that Session, already given Customs and Excises for His Majesties Life, which amounted to Six Millions ; that they ought to give little now, to have Opportunity to give more another time ; for if they gave so much then, they should have nothing left to give ; and if they proceeded thus, what they had would be taken from them. But nevertheless, after a long Debate, the Question was put for 700000 l. and no more, to be given to His Majesty, which pass'd in the Affirmative.*

*As to the Roman Catholicks in the Army, besides what I have already mention'd, it was represented by one of the Members, That His Majesty on his first Accession to the Crown told them, He had been misrepresented, and that he would preserve the Government in Church and State now establish'd by Law, and to maintain them in all their just Rights and Priviledges ; That overjoy'd at this, they ran hastily to him, and were so forward to give, that the King's Ministers put their stop to it ; that they ought not to forget that there was a Bill of Exclusion debated in that House ; that the Arguments for it were, that they should, in case of a Popish Successor, have a Popish Army ; that they saw the Act of the Test already broken ; but pray'd them to remember what the late Lord Chancellor told them, when the late King past that Act ; By this Act (said the Chancellor) you are provided against Popery, that no Papist can possibly creep into any Employment ; that he was greatly afflicted at the Breach of their Liberties, and*  
*seeing*

seeing so great Difference between this last Speech, and those heretofore made, could not but believe this was made by some other Advice; that what the thing struck at there, was their All; that he wonder'd there had been any Men so desperate, as to take any Employment not qualified for it; and concluded to have a Standing Army voted destructive to the Country. 1685.

In the middle of these warm Debates an Address was mov'd by Sir Edward Jennings. Others mov'd the Inconveniency of it, if not granted; others to have the Catholics, who had been so useful and well known to His Majesty, nam'd and compensated; some seem'd to doubt His Majesties Compliance; others said, that it was not to be doubted, when addressed by such a House. At last it came to this Conclusion, That Instructions be given to a Committee, to draw an humble Address to his Majesty, which was accordingly done, and was to this Purpose: That they return'd His Majesty their most humble and hearty Thanks for his great Care and Conduct, in suppressing the late Rebellion, which threatned the Overthrow of this Government both in Church and State, to the Extirpation of their Religion, as by Law establish'd, which was most dear to them, and which His Majesty had been pleas'd to give them repeated Assurances he would always defend and maintain; that they had with all Duty and Readiness taken into Consideration His Majesties gracious Speech; and as to that part of it, relating to the Officers of the Army not qualified for their Employments, according to the Act of Parliament made in the 25th Year of the Reign of his Royal Brother; they, out of their bounden Duty, did humbly represent to His Majesty, that these Officers by Law could not be capable of their Employments, and that the Incapacities they bring upon themselves that way, could no way be taken off but by an Act of Parliament. That therefore out of that great Reverence and Duty they owed to His Majesty, who had been graciously pleas'd to take notice of their Services, they were preparing a Bill to indemnifie them from the Penalties they had now incurr'd; and because the continuing them in their Employments may be taken to be a dispensing with Law, without an Act of Parliament, the

1685. *the Consequence of which was of the greatest Concern to the Rights of all his Subjects, and to all the Laws made for the Security of their Religion; therefore they did most humbly beseech His Majesty, that he would be graciously pleas'd to give such Directions therein, that no Apprehensions of Jealousies might remain in the Hearts of His Majesties Subjects.*

Over and above what was contain'd in this Address, 'tis said, the House of Commons were willing to capacitate by an Act of Parliament, such a Number of the Roman Catholick Officers as His Majesty should give a List of; nevertheless, the King was so offended, that they should offer to question his Demands, and controul his Affection to his *Popish* Subjects, that he could scarce forbear shewing openly his Resentment: But Prudence taught him to cool his Temper; and when the House attended him with their Address, for fear of provoking them too far, he was contented to tell them, *That he did not expect such an Address from a House of Commons; for having so lately recommended to their Consideration the great Advantage a good Understanding between him and them had produc'd in a very short time, and given them warning of Fears and Jealousies, he had reason to hope that the Reputation God had bless'd him with in the World, would have seated and confirm'd a good Confidence in them for him, and of all that he said to them.*

This Answer was read with all due Reverence and Respect; and after a profound Silence, which lasted for some time, one of the Members mov'd that a Day might be appointed to consider of it. *Mr. Coke's bold Speech:* Mr. Coke seconded this Motion, adding, *He hoped they were all true Englishmen, and not to be frighten'd out of their Duty by a few high Words. Tho' this Speech was no more than what was consistent with the Freedom of an English House of Commons and such as became a true Patriot, yet the Lords Preston and Middleton, and some other Courtiers took present Exceptions against it; urging, That the Meaning of it seem'd like an Incendiary, and procur'd an Order that Mr. Coke should be sent to the Tower.* However, this unjust Proceeding did not deter

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the rest of the Country Party from insisting upon a Day to consider of His Majesties Answer, which seem'd not to them satisfactory. The King fearing the Consequence of these Debates, and being made sensible by his Popish Advisers that a Parliament was a Remora to his Designs, he put a Stop to their Proceedings, first by a Prorogation, and then by a Dissolution. The Politicians have remark'd, That the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz, (the only Security of the French Protestants) happen'd at the same time in France, that King James laid aside the Parliament, the only Barrier of English Liberties.

1685.  
The Parlia-  
ment Pro-  
rogued No-  
vember  
the 20th,  
1685. and  
Dissolved  
July the  
2d, 1687.

To feel the Pulse of his English Subjects, King James began to raise the Superstructure of Arbitrary Power in Scotland, upon the Foundation he had laid there by his Popularity and Politick Dissimulation, when he was Commissioner for his Brother. Here he reap'd a full Harvest of his Hopes, and scarce left the least Remains of ancient Liberty in that Kingdom; for the Parliament he had call'd immediately after his Accession to the Crown, being open'd at *Edinburgh* on the 23d of May, 1685. the Duke of *Queensberry* His Majesties High-Commissioner, the Earl of *Perth* Lord High Chancellor, the Marquis of *Athol* Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of *Kintore* Lord Treasurer, the Viscount *Melfort* Lord Secretary, the Duke of *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Tweeddale*, and the rest of the King's Creatures procur'd the passing of Two Acts, \* April 28. the one for the Security of the Protestant Religion, that is, for the Oppression of the *Presbyterians*; the other for settling the Excise of Inland and Foreign Commodities upon His Majesty and His Heirs for ever. In the Preamble of this last Act, they declare, That they abhor all Principles and Positions which are contrary or derogatory to the King's sacred, supream, sovereign and absolute Power and Authority; which none, whether private Persons or collegiate Bodies, can participate of, any manner of way, but in Dependance on him; and therefore they take that Occasion to renew their hearty and sincere Offer of their Lives and Fortunes, to assist, defend and maintain His Majesty, His Royal Authority, Rights and Prerogatives, against all Mor-

Affairs of  
Scotland.



1685. *Mortals.* The 8th of May the same Parliament pass'd two other Acts, the first to forbid Preaching, and Resorting to House or Field Conventicles, upon Pain of Death and Confiscation of Goods; the other making High-Treason the giving or taking the National Covenant, as explain'd in 1638. a writing in Defence of it. And the better to tie up that Nation to a Despotick Yoke, they pass'd another Act on the 24th of the said Month, ordaining all the Subjects of that Kingdom, whensoever requir'd, to assert the Royal Prerogatives, and *swear to defend, assist and maintain the King and his Successors, in the Exercise of their absolute Power, under the Pain of Banishment, Imprisonment, or such other Punishment, not reaching Life.*

*King's Letter to the Scotch Parliament April 29. 1686. in Favour of the Papists.*

The King presuming from these Advances that the Scots would easily be fashion'd to his Pleasure, 'twas amongst 'em that he first attempted to repeal the Penal Laws and Tests made against *Papists*; and therefore having summon'd the Parliament of that Kingdom to reassemble on the 29th of April, 1686. he wrote a Letter to them, *wherein he recommended to their special Care, his innocent Roman Catholic Subjects, who had always been assistant to the Crown in the worst of Rebellions and Usurpations, tho' they lay under Discouragements hardly to be nam'd; these he heartily recommended to them, to the end, that as they had given good Experience of their true Loyalty and peaceable Behaviour, so, by their Assistance, they might bear the Protection of his Laws, not suffering them to be under Obligations, which their Religion could not admit of; by doing of which, they would give a Demonstration of the Duty and Affection they had to him, and do him most acceptable Service: And this Love he expected they would shew to their Brethren as they saw him an indulgent Father.* To engage the Parliament to comply with His Majesties Desire, the Earl of Morray, who was appointed Lord High-Commissioner upon this Occasion, made them a Speech, the Substance of which was: "That to shew the great Sense His Majesty retain'd of their Loyalty, Duty and Zeal for his Service, express'd in their Proceedings of the last Sessions, His Majesty

*The Earl of Morray's Speech to the Parliament.*

" would



1686.

“ would give them fresh Opportunity of doing  
 “ such things as might tend to the universal Good  
 “ of the Nation, as a generous Return to their Af-  
 “ fections. *That* as all the States and Ranks of Men  
 “ in that Kingdom had been most eminent in their  
 “ Loyalty, so His Majesty was graciously resolv’d,  
 “ they should in their several Stations share of the  
 “ Effects and Influences of his Royal Care, Ten-  
 “ derness and Protection. *That* pursuant to this,  
 “ His Majesty endeavour’d to open a free Inter-  
 “ course of Trade with His Kingdom of *England*,  
 “ and by His Envoy at the Court of *France*, to re-  
 “ cover the Priviledges of the *Scots* Merchants  
 “ trading with that Kingdom. *That* he was in-  
 “ structed to give His Majesties Royal Consent to  
 “ such Regulations, concerning the Cesse of the Na-  
 “ tion, as they should think just and equitable;  
 “ as likewise to redress the Inconveniencies and  
 “ Trouble which *Scots* Merchants meet with in  
 “ the Matter of the Staple with the *Netherlands*;  
 “ and to prevent the Importation of *Irish* Cattel,  
 “ Horses and Victual, by which His Majesty was  
 “ inform’d the Kingdom of *Scotland* suffer’d great  
 “ Prejudice. *That* His Majesty had empower’d him  
 “ to grant ’em an open Mint, for the Advantage of  
 “ the Traffick of that Kingdom. *That* as His Majesty  
 “ intended to promote the Trade, and encrease the  
 “ Wealth of that Nation by all possible and fit  
 “ Methods, he would not at that time demand  
 “ any more Supplies or Impositions of any kind;  
 “ notwithstanding of the great and necessary  
 “ Charge for the suppressing of the late Re-  
 “ bellion. Also, *That* he was instructed to give His  
 “ Majesties Assent to all such Laws and Regulations  
 “ as might secure exact Payment to the Country  
 “ from all his Officers and Soldiers in their Quar-  
 “ ters; and for easing the Commons of many Op-  
 “ pressions alledged to be committed by Commis-  
 “ sions. *That*, that which would surprize them much  
 “ was, that as the King was solicitous to provide  
 “ for the Security of that Kingdom, and to en-  
 “ courage and cherish his dutiful and loyal Subjects  
 “ as his obedient Children, so as a tender-hearted

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“ Father,

1686.

“ Father, he was willing, and ready, and merci-  
 “ fully to pardon the unexcusable Faults and  
 “ Crimes of such as had behaved themselves  
 “ undutifully, and even rebelliously against him;  
 “ and therefore he had graciously been pleas’d to  
 “ instruct him to pass his full and ample Indem-  
 “ nity, with some few necessary and reasonable  
 “ Exceptions, for all past Crimes and Misdemea-  
 “ nors whatsoever, which might convince the World  
 “ that His Majesty delighted by such sweet and  
 “ gentle Methods of Mercy, to reduce all to Duty  
 “ and Obedience. And now, my Lords and Gen-  
 “ tlemen, *added he*, after so great and excellent  
 “ Designs for promoting the Honour, the Ease and  
 “ Wealth of this Kingdom, after his Resolution  
 “ to pardon so many Enemies, His Majesty be-  
 “ lieves that none will wonder, if he desire, by  
 “ the Advice and Consent of this his great Council,  
 “ to give Ease and Security to some of his good  
 “ Subjects of *the Roman Catholick Religion*, who  
 “ have in all Times been firm to the Monar-  
 “ chy, and ready to sacrifice their Lives and For-  
 “ tunes for the Service and Security of the Crown.

Assoon as the High Commissioner had ended his  
 Speech, the King’s Creatures were for passing an  
 Act in Favour of the Papists, without regarding  
 farther than His Majesties Desire; but the rest  
 prevail’d to have a Committee appointed to inspect  
 the Statutes provided against *Roman Catholicks*.  
 After a full and exact Examination of those Laws,  
 the Committee drew up a Bill, whereby Papists  
 were to be allow’d the Exercise of their Religion  
 in private, without repealing those former Acts,  
 which made them liable to Penalties, in case they  
 should assemble publicly. This was all that the  
 King desir’d for the present, because he hop’d to  
 gain his Ends by degrees. But however, this Bill  
 being presented to the Parliament for their Appro-  
 bation, the House divided upon it, and many warm  
 Speeches were made for and against it; the King  
 being inform’d of these Debates, and apprehending  
 the Miscarriage of his Project, dispatch’d an Ex-  
 press to the Earl of *Murray*, with Orders either to  
 Prorogue

Prerogue or Dissolve the Parliament; and about 1687. Ten Months after, did that by his sole Power and Authority, which he could not effect with the Consent of the Nation. The King in his Letter

to his Privy-Council of Scotland tells 'em, *That he was pleas'd some time before to inform them of his Designs, in order to the Ease of his Roman Catholick Subjects, to which he had then a dutiful Answer; that now he thought fit to publish his Royal Intentions, and to give an additional Ease to those of tender Consciences, tho' at the same time he expresses his highest Indignation against those Enemies of Christianity, as well as Government and humane Society, the Field Conventiclers, whom he recommends to them to rout out with all the Severities of his Laws.* Pursuant to

this Letter, the Privy-Council caus'd the King's Proclamation for Liberty of Conscience to be publish'd, which contain'd in Substance: "That His Majesty being resolv'd to unite the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects to GOD in Religion, to him in Loyalty, and to their Neighbours in Christian Love and Charity, he had therefore thought fit, by his sovereign Authority, Prerogative Royal, and absolute Power, which all his Subjects are to obey without Reserve, to give and grant His Royal Toleration to the several Professors of the Christian Religion after nam'd. First, He allows and tolerates the Moderate Presbyterians, to meet in their private Houses only; but it is his Pleasure that Field-Conventiclers be prosecuted according to the utmost Severity of the Laws. In like manner he tolerates Quakers to meet and exercise in their Form, in any Place or Places appointed for their Worship. And, says His Majesty, considering the severe and cruel Laws made against Roman Catholicks (therein call'd Papists) in the Minority of our Royal Grandfather, without his Consent, and contrary to the Duty of good Subjects, by his Regents, and other Enemies to their Lawful Sovereign, our Royal Great-Grandmother Queen Mary of blessed and pious Memory, wherein, under the Pretence of Religion, they cloathed the worst of Treasons,

Febr. 18:  
1687. Proclamation  
for Liberty  
of Conscience in  
Scotland,  
repealing the  
Laws made  
against the  
Papists.

1687. “Factions and Usurpations, and made these Laws,  
 “not as against the Enemies of God, but their  
 “own; which Laws have still been continued of  
 “Course, without Design of executing them, or  
 “any of them, *ad terrorem* only, on Supposition  
 “that the Papists relying on an external Power,  
 “were incapable of Duty, and true Allegiance to  
 “their natural Sovereigns; we of our certain  
 “Knowledge, and long Experience, knowing that  
 “the *Catholicks*, as it is their Principle to be good  
 “Christians, so it is to be dutiful Subjects; and  
 “that they have likewise on all Occasions  
 “shewn themselves good and faithful Subjects to  
 “us, and our Royal Predecessors; do therefore with  
 “Advice and Consent of our Privy-Council, by  
 “our Sovereign Authority, Prerogative Royal, and  
 “Absolute Power, *Suspend, Stop and Disable all*  
 “*Laws or Acts of Parliament, Made or Executed a-*  
 “*gainst any of our Roman Catholick Subjects*, in any  
 “time past, to all Intents and Purposes, *making*  
 “*Void* all Prohibitions therein mention’d, Pains or  
 “Penalties therein ordain’d to be inflicted; so  
 “that they shall in all things be as free in all Re-  
 “spects as any of our Protestant Subjects whatso-  
 “ever, not only to exercise their Religion, but  
 “to enjoy all Offices, Benefices and others, which  
 “we shall think fit to bestow upon them, in all  
 “time coming. And whereas the Obedience of  
 “our Subjects is due to us by their Allegiance and  
 “our Sovereignty, and that no Law, Difference in  
 “Religion, or other Impediment whatsoever can  
 “exempt the Subjects from their native Obliga-  
 “tions to the Crown; and considering that *some*  
 “*Oaths* are capable of being wrested by Men of  
 “sinistrous Intentions, a Practice in that Kingdom  
 “fatal to Religion as to Loyalty; we therefore  
 “call, annul, and discharge all *Oaths* whatsoever,  
 “by which any of our Subjects are incapacitated  
 “from holding Places or Offices in our said King-  
 “dom, discharging the same to be taken or given  
 “in any time coming, without our special Warrant  
 “and Consent; and we do stop, disable and dis-  
 “pence with all Laws enjoining the said Oaths,  
 “Tests, or any of them, &c. ’Tis

'Tis easie to guess how this Proclamation work'd in the Minds of the *Scots* Presbyterians, which compose the Mass of that Nation, by their unanimous joining with the *English* in the succeeding Revolution. 1685.

But 'twas principally in *Ireland* where the King's Designs of establishing Popery, and Arbitrary Power appear'd without Disguise, from the very beginning of his Reign. On the 20th of March, 1685. the Duke of Ormond, Lord-Lieutenant of that Kingdom, a Person of unshaken Uprightness, and inviolable Zeal for the Protestant Religion and *English* Interest, and therefore unfit to serve the present Government, receiv'd an Order from Court to deliver the Sword of State to the Lord Primate of *Ireland*, and to the Earl of *Granard*, appointed by the King to be Lords Justices; *A View of the Affairs in Ireland, from 1685, to 1687.*

but before his Departure, he laboured with an indefatigable Diligence to establish Matters on such a Foundation, so as that it might not be easie for the *Papists* to make a present Change, without a manifest Violation of the Laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom. One remarkable Passage I must not pass in Silence, which shews the great Spirit of that excellent Patriot. He appointed a Dinner at the new Hospital, (a stately Fabrick by him erected near *Dublin* for poor Soldiers) where were invited the Officers of the said Hospital, and those of the Army then in *Dublin*; which being over, he took a large Glass of Wine in his Hand, bid 'em fill it to the Brim, then stood up, and call'd to all the Company: Look here, Gentlemen, they say at Court I am now become an old doting Fool; you see my Hand does not shake, nor does my Heart fail, nor do I doubt but I will make some of them see their Mistake; and so drank the King's Health. But upon his Arrival at Court, he found that King James's bigotted Opinion would carry him to the most violent Actions; a dismal Apprehension of which, as is believ'd, at length broke his Heart; for tho' he was of a great Age, yet was he of such Health of Body, and Chearfulness of Mind, that in the Course of Nature he might have liv'd Twenty

Duke of Ormond recall'd, March 20. 1685.

1687.

Years longer. Before the Duke of *Ormond* left the Government, an Order came for regulating the Council, which he left for the Justices to do. Upon his Departure the Privy-Council was immediately dissolv'd, and most of the *English* that were active in the Protestant Cause, were turn'd out; but tho' no *Papists* were then put in, yet it was long before they made up the major part; and those few Protestants that were left, seldom appear'd at the Board, as being unable to do those of their Religion any Service. The *Irish* fell immediately to their ordinary Trade of making Plots, but with this Difference: That whereas they had formerly been the Actors themselves, they now father'd them upon the *English*, whom they daily impeach'd against the King and the Government. The *Grande*s had the Confidence to countenance the Evidence, and press'd the Lords Justices for Orders of Council to empower *Irish Papists* and mungrel Protestants to commit, without Bail, any Person impeach'd. These Arbitrary Proceedings made the Lords Justices soon weary of their Government, and the Lord *Granard* writ to *England* to be dismiss'd; but the *Papists* represented him as a Man fit to be kept in, his Interest being very prevalent in the *North* among the *Scots* and *Presbyterians*, of which Perswasion his Lady was; so that King *James* writ him a Letter with his own Hand, with great Assurances that nothing should be acted prejudicial to the Protestant Interest, which, at that time, this Lord was accounted to be zealous for. *Monmouth's* Rebellion gave a plausible Opportunity to the *Irish*, more than ever, to contrive Plots, and to fasten them upon the Protestants, which put the whole Kingdom into a Ferment; and altho' the Accusations were notoriously false, yet for not being prosecuted with that open Partiality and Rigour, which these envious implacable Spirits were impatient for, Complaints were made to the King; and He to gratifie their Malice, sent private Instructions, with a Reprimand to the Lords Justices, about this Affair.

1687:

The next thing the Court thought fit to be done in order to advance their Designs in *Ireland*, was to new model the Army, which at that time consisted of about 7000 Men, all Protestants, who had been most zealous in the King's Service. For this Purpose they made use of Colonel *Richard Talbot*, a Man, of all others, most odious to the *English* Protestants, and one who had been nam'd by *Oates* in his Narrative, some Years before, as design'd for this Service; so that many, who before believ'd nothing of the Plot, gave Credit to it now, saying, That if *Oates* were an ill Evidence, he was certainly a good Prophet. *Talbot* was no sooner invested with his Office, but he prosecuted it in such a manner, as was most agreeable to his insolent imperious Temper, exercising at the same time so much Barbarity and Fallhood, that if the Army had not been the best principled in the World with Loyalty, they would certainly have mutinied. But the introductory part first to be perform'd, was to get in all the Arms from the Protestants. To varnish over this Design, the King and Council writ over to the Lords Justices, *That there was reason to believe that the Rebellion of Monmouth had been of that spreading Contagion, as to infect many, and delude more; it was not therefore safe for the Kingdom to have the Arms of the Militia dispers'd abroad, but they would be in a greater Readiness for the Militia, and their own Defence, to have them deposited in the several Stores of each County.* Upon which Instructions a Proclamation was issued out; and to make it take the better effect, the Lord Primate made an elegant Speech to the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *Dublin*, and prevail'd with them to bring in their Arms; which Precedent was afterwards pursued by the Country. The Protestants being thus disarm'd, *Talbot* proceeded to new-model the Army, and first began with the Officers in the same Method which was design'd immediately before the Death of King *Charles II.* and which was to displace all Officers that had been in the Parliament, or *Oliver's* Army, as also the Sons of any such. This the Duke of *Ormond* had Directions to proceed in, but he made

Colonel  
Talbot  
new-models  
the Army.



1685. no Progress in it, under Pretence of gaining time to find 'em out, but in reality, because he foresaw it was to make room for *Papists*. *Talbot* having cashier'd a great part of the Officers, return'd for *England*, and carried along with him one *Neagle*, a cunning *Irish* Lawyer, and inveterate *Papist*, educated among the *Jesuits*. Upon their Arrival at *London*, 'twas some time before *Neagle* could gain Admittance to kiss the King's Hand, but was constantly with Father *Petre*, and the rest of the *Papist* Cabal. The Queen was altogether for their furious Counsels, but the King was not so violently inclin'd, being every Day advis'd by all his *Papist* Peers, not to proceed too fast in the Revolution of *Ireland*, lest thereby he should ruin the general Interest of the *Catholicks*: And the Lords *Bellasis*, *Powis*, and some others of that Faction, understanding that *Neagle* was come over, they were so transported with Rage, that they would have him immediately sent out of *London*. However, to compleat in private, what they durst not attempt upon the publick Stage, 'twas agreed in Council that he should set forth the great Oppression and Injustice of the late Act of Settlement, which he did by way of a Letter to a Friend, wherein he ran so high in his Invectives against King *Charles II.* that he durst not own it to be his. *Talbot* being made Earl of *Tyrconnel*, a Consult was held about the principal Design of his coming over, and the Debate variously canvass'd as to a fit Person to send to *Ireland*, in Quality of Lord-Lieutenant. *Tyrconnel*, tho' recommended by Bishop *Tyrrel*, was nevertheless mention'd with some Reserve, as being a Person very obnoxious to the *English*, and therefore not proper to be brought upon the Stage, till Matters were come to a greater Maturity. The Lord *Bellasis* was propos'd, but he was infirm, at least to carry on their Design with Success, and not altogether to disgust the *English*, 'twas resolv'd that *Tyrconnel* should return Lieutenant-General of the Army, and the Earl of *Clarendon* Lord-Lieutenant. In the mean time the *Irish Papists* in all Parts of the Kingdom proceeded in their former

*Talbot*  
made Earl  
of *Tyrconnel*.

The Earl of  
*Clarendon*  
made Lord  
Lieutenant  
of *Ireland*,  
Decemb.  
1685.

former Stratagems of impeaching the *Protestants* for traitorous Designs, but these were generally so ridiculously contriv'd, and made up of such palpable Contradictions and Incongruities, that they serv'd only to demonstrate the *Protestants* Innocency, and the Perjuries and Inveteracy of the Informers. But seeing that these Impeachments were so unskilfully manag'd, as to miss of their wicked Intent, then they apply'd themselves to other Courses: Many went out *Tories*, and committed so many Robberies and Outrages upon the *English*, that Thousands deserted the Kingdom. *Tyrannel* now drives with greater Fury than before; not only displacing the Officers of the Army, but also turning out the private Soldiers, and to both prefers which of the *Irish* he thought fit; his Will was his Law, and his Actions purely Arbitrary, none daring to question him; for he brought over blank Commissions sign'd by the King, for such as he was willing to put in. This Part he acted in a most insulting, barbarous manner; turning off some Soldiers, stript to their Shirts; seizing the Horses of some Officers and Troopers, giving them Notes that amounted not to a fourth Proportion of their just Values; and to others, giving nothing but ill Words, and vile Reproaches. The most noted Officers, who were turn'd out of their Commissions, were the Lord *Shannon*, Capt. *Robert Fitz-Gerald*, Capt. *Richard Coote*, and Sir *George St. George*; in whose Places were put one *Kerney*, an Assassin, that would have murder'd King *Charles II.* *Anderson*, an obscure Fellow; *Sheldon*, a virulent *Papist*; *Graham*, and others of the same Stamp. In short, 2 or 300 *English* Gentlemen, who had laid out all, or at least great part of their Portions, to purchase or follow their Military Employments, were arbitrarily disbanded, and 5 or 6000 private Soldiers sent a-begging. However these Discouragements of the *English* were, in some measure, alleviated, when perceiving the Lord Lieutenant, tho' a near Relation to the King, acting as a Person of inviolable Integrity to the *Protestants*, they look'd upon him as a Man that

1687.



that would stem the impetuous Torrent of the *Popish* Faction. And indeed his very first Action gave no small Proof of it, which was to revive the fainting Spirits of the Protestants, with those Assurance his Master had given him of protecting their Religion. But the restless Endeavours of the *Papists* made the Earl of *Clarendon* find things very uneasy: To which this remarkable Passage not a little contributed. Upon a *Sunday* Morning going to Church, he perceiv'd an *Irish* Officer he never saw before, commanding his Guard of Battle-Axes, which very much surpriz'd him; whereupon he made a Stop, demanding who he was and who put him there? The *Irishman*, as much frightened, as the Lord Lieutenant was disturb'd, in broken Expressions told his Excellency, he was a Captain put in by the Lord *Tyrconnel*. His Excellency demanding of him, when? he replied that Morning: His Excellency bid 'em call the former Captain, and dismiss this of *Tyrconnel's*. The next Day the Lord Lieutenant question'd *Tyrconnel* for this Action, who replied, he did nothing but by the King's Orders: To which the Earl of *Clarendon* return'd, That whilst His Majesty entrusted him with the Government, he would not be dispos'd by his Lieutenant-General. Complaints on both sides were made to the King, and so ended.

*Tyrconnel* having compleated his Design in modelling the Army, went over for *England*, and there consulted with his Party to obtain the Government of *Ireland*: The Queen, Father *Petre*, and the Earl of *S-----*, had by this time engag'd the King, in his Favour, but the rest of the *Popish* Faction were against it, still urging how unacceptable he was to the *English*, others therefore were nam'd in Private by the *Romish* Lords; but all the while the Protestant side were wholly Ignorant of any Design to remove the Earl of *Clarendon*, not questioning but that he stood upon a firm Foundation; namely, the King's late Assurance to the Earl of *R-----ter*, who was seemingly prime Minister of State, but not thought fit to be confided in,

in, as to those dark Secrets of the *Papists* Designs. 1687.

About this Time Father Petre held a Consultation in the *Savoy* with the Chief *Romanists* of *England*, about the Methods that were fittest to be pursued for the Promotion of the *Catholick* Cause. The *Papists* were universally afraid of the King's Incapacity, or else Unwillingness of exposing himself to the hazard of securing it in his Reign. They were sensible, that he was advanced in Years, nor were they Ignorant of what almost insuperable Difficulties they had to contend with, before they could bring their Projects to any Ripeness. Wherefore upon these Considerations, some were for moving the King to procure an Act of Parliament for the Security of their Estates, and only Liberty for Priests in their own Private Houses. This Father Petre Anathematiz'd as Terrestrial, and founded upon too fond a Sollicitude for their secular Interests; but if they would pursue his Measures, he doubted not to see the Holy Church Triumphant in *England*; others of the *Papists* were for Addressing the King to have Liberty to sell their Estates, and that His Majesty would Intercede with the King of *France* to provide for them in his Dominions; after several Debates, it was at last agreed upon to lay both Proposals before the King, and some of the Assembly to attend His Majesty, which was accordingly done: to which the King's Answer was, *That he had before their Desires came to him, often thought of them, and had provided a sure Sanctuary and Retreat for them in Ireland, if all those Endeavours should be blasted in England, which he had made for their Security, and of whose Success he had not yet Reason to Despair.* This Encouragement to the *Papists* was attended with the most zealous Assurances of his ardent Love to the Holy Church, which, he said, he had been a Martyr for, and was still ready to lay down his Life to advance its Interest. Thus the Bigottry of this unhappy Prince transported him beyond all Bounds, and carried him to such Extravagancies in Government, as the moderate of the

1686. the *English Papists* themselves thought to be extremely hazardous. They would all of them have been content with a Private Exercise of their Religion, as thinking it abundantly more safe, rather than endanger the losing their Estates and Fortunes, which they almost look'd upon as inevitable, if such virulent extream Courses were pursued, but the King was too much a Creature of the *Jesuits*, to attend to any but their Counsels. He had enter'd himself into their Society, and was become a Lay-Brother of that Order, and so in Consequence to his Profession, must needs look upon it as a work of Supererrogation to extirpate Heresie, and reduce three Kingdoms to an entire Obedience to the Holy See. The Earl of *Rochester* having by accident been inform'd of what was then in Agitation, he immediately acquainted the King with it, who absolutely denied that there was any Intention of removing his Brother from the Government of *Ireland*, but on the contrary, assur'd him of his great Satisfaction with his Conduct. Within some few Days, the Lord Treasurer receiv'd from the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* the same Intimations, which he had inform'd the King of; and upon which he again accosted His Majesty, who as positively disown'd the whole Matter as he had done before; and to remove the Jealousies of the Lord Lieutenant, wrote a Letter to him, as was said, with his own Hand, assuring him, *there was yet no Thoughts, and he believ'd never would be in him, whilst both liv'd, to remove him from the Government of Ireland.* Notwithstanding which the *Papists* in *Ireland* confidently affirm'd, that the Day before the King writ the Letter, he had given his Word to Father *Petre*, that *Tyrconnel* should be Lord Lieutenant: But 'tis certain, that no other Person but the Queen was privy to this, no, not *Tyrconnel* himself, for he could not keep a Secret.

'Twas at the same time resolv'd to put the Lord Treasurer, and the Earl of S----- to the Test, as to what they would do in Compliance to the Catholick Cause. The King undertook the Management of this Affair, and made his first onset on

on S-----, whom he observ'd to be most docile, as appear'd already by his submissive Bowing to the *Popish* Altar. What the Tenor of that Discourse was which the King had with him, was never known; but however, Father *Petre* extreamly magnify'd the Earl's Obedience at a meeting with the Jesuits; adding that 'twas necessary for him as yet to appear a Protestant, for weighty Reasons of State. The King's Negotiation with the Earl of *Rochester* having miscarried in the manner I shall Relate in a properer Place, one of the Jesuits said; *He must be Anathematiz'd; and that the King could never Prosper whilst such an Heretick was near him.*

1856.

It was now become the Publick Discourse, that the two Brothers must down; and then the King, tho' he was resolv'd before hand, ask'd his Council's Advice, who was fit to be plac'd in the Government of *Ireland*. Several Persons were propos'd, but none approv'd of: After that the Inclination of the Board had been sufficiently sifted; the King again brought on *Tyrconnel*, which was withstood by all but the Lord President, and in Opposition to which the *Popish* Party contended Vigorously. *Powis* (though they knew him to be both a C----- and a F-----, as the King in a Passion one Day told him he was, yet however) was consider'd as a Person whose moderate Carriage had Entitled him to a moderate good Character among the *Protestants*, and therefore the fittest to be plac'd in this Station, the better to amuse them. *Powis* was Naturally Covetous, and the Government of *Ireland*, a Post of great Profit: Wherefore his Friends advis'd him to agree with the Earl of S-----, and do as the L. B----- did with the Dutchess of *Cleveland*, become Tenant for Life; in order to which, *Powis* comes to Terms, and agrees for 4000 Pounds *per Annum*; but whatever the bottom of the Design was, S----- never forsook *Tyrconnel* at the Council-board, and carried it for him against all Opposition. Some conjectur'd that he acquainted the King with his Bargain with *Powis*; and that the King made *Tyrconnel* agree to the same Terms; for 'tis certain *Tyrconnel*, who

*Tyrconnel*  
made Lord  
Lieutenant  
of Ireland.

1687.  


who seldom consider'd what he Spoke, would Swear he got not so much by the Government as serv'd to maintain him, notwithstanding that it was worth to him 18000 Pounds per Annum.

The Confirmation of this dismal News reaching the Ears of the Protestants in Ireland, struck like a Thunder-bolt. Perhaps no Age or Story can parallel so dreadful a Catastrophe among all Ages and Sexes, as if the Day of Doom was come; every one lamenting their Condition, and almost all that could abandoning the Kingdom. This Gloomy and Melancholy Prospect of Things, seem'd to be attended with so many Discouragements, that many that had Patentee Employments, obtain'd License from the Lord Lieutenant under the Broad Seal to come away. All that lay in his Excellency's Power for the Assistance of the alarm'd Protestants, he zealously perform'd; and it was Interpreted by many as a Signal Act of Providence, that the Winds continued for sometime contrary, after that *Tyrconnel* was come to the Shore; which Disappointment did not a little Discompose him, whose Furious Zeal for the *Pope's Cause*, Envy and Ambition equally inspir'd him with Eagerness to Supplant his Predecessor, and former Corrival in the Government. But at last *Tyrconnel* being Landed at *Dublin*, the Lord *Clarendon* at the Arch-Bishop's Palace resign'd the Sword of State to him with a Memorable Speech; wherein he told him, "That the Misunderstand-

Feb. 6.  
1687.

The Earl of  
Clarendon's  
Speech  
to Tyrconnel.  
Feb. 12th  
Feb. 1687.

ings and Fewds of that Kingdom were things much to be lamented, and he could wish the Occasion of them were remov'd, which was this, viz. That the *English* of that Kingdom had been represented as a Company of Disaffected and Fanatical People; that this was a hard Charge if it were true, but from what he had learn'd, both by his own Observation, and the Information of others, he believ'd them to be as Loyal Subjects, and generally as true Sons of the Church of *England* as any it has. That it is a Church that can make it her Brags, that in

"all



1687.

“ all the Conspiracies, Plots and Rebellions, that  
 “ ever have been against the King, not one Ortho-  
 “ dox Member of her Communion has been any  
 “ way in ’em; that he profess’d himself to be of  
 “ that Church, and counted it his greatest Happi-  
 “ ness that he was so. That as for the Protestants  
 “ of that Kingdom in Particular, he could say in  
 “ their Favour, that when the Restoration of the  
 “ King was oppos’d in *England*, they were the  
 “ Men that us’d their Indefatigable Industry to  
 “ Effect it. That he design’d to tell this to the  
 “ King, and hop’d by his Lordship’s Prudence these  
 “ Calumnies and Aspersions that had lain upon  
 “ them, would be remov’d; and that as they and  
 “ the *Roman Catholics* were the Subjects of one  
 “ Prince, so they would Unanimously agree in their  
 “ Love of one another, and in promoting his Ho-  
 “ nour and Happiness; He clos’d his Speech with  
 “ telling him, *That as he receiv’d the Sword in Peace,*  
 “ *so he deliver’d it in Peace.* Tyrconnel’s Answer was  
 “ to this Effect: That it was the King’s Design,  
 “ and consequently his Command to him, to Go-  
 “ vern that Kingdom according to the Law, with-  
 “ out any Partiality, and therefore he declar’d that  
 “ all Men should enjoy the Exercise of their Religi-  
 “ on and Properties according to Law. That he  
 “ knew there were great Fears in the Kingdom,  
 “ some removing their Goods, some their Plate,  
 “ others their Money. What the Reason of it was  
 “ he could not imagine; but for his own Part he  
 “ would not have any distrust the King’s Prote-  
 “ ction. That the Lord *Clarendon* had hinted, that  
 “ no Distinction of Names ought to be encourag’d,  
 “ or any thing else that might breed Jealousies  
 “ among the King’s Subjects, which he would  
 “ make his whole Business to bring about, for this  
 “ was the Command of the King, who was both  
 “ the greatest and justest Prince that ever rul’d  
 “ these Kingdoms. Notwithstanding these fine  
 Promises, it soon appear’d that the Fears men-  
 tion’d in *Tyrconnel’s* Answer, were but too well  
 Grounded.

Tyrconnel’s Answer.

1687.

Before Tyrconnel came to the Sword, some of the Judges were turn'd out, (as Sir Standish Ha-  
 stan, Bar. one of the Barons of the Exchequer, Sir  
 Richard Reynolds, Bar. one of the Judges of the  
 King's Bench, both since Dead, and Johnson, one of  
 the Judges of the Common Pleas) and a Confab  
 was held in London, whether the rest should not  
 be turn'd out before the Earl of Clarendon was re-  
 mov'd, to represent him Odious to the People,  
 if he complied; or Disobedient to the King, if  
 he seem'd unwilling in the Matter, as they be-  
 liev'd he would. For they observ'd that he and  
 the Lord Chancellor, Sir Charles Porter began to Str-  
 tle at the Commands from England, before they re-  
 ceiv'd any Account of their Removal, and Porter  
 publicly declar'd, *That he came not over to serve a  
 Turn, nor would he act against his Conscience.* For  
 which Expressions at his Return to London, he  
 could not, without some Difficulty, obtain the Fa-  
 vour of Kissing the King's Hand. To come to  
 the Debate concerning the Judges, some were for  
 making a clear Riddance, and to have the Refor-  
 mation begin in the Courts of Judicature, urging  
 that having the Military Part of the Government  
 in their Hands, they might with greater Ease se-  
 cure the Civil; but others did not think it safe to  
 turn them all out, nor any more of them, till the  
 Government was vested in a Roman Catholick. For  
 some of the Cabal were afraid of proceeding too  
 fast in their Design; especially the Earl of Powis,  
 who for that Reason was not entrusted with all  
 their Secrets and blacker Projects; though in his  
 Lady they repos'd an entire Confidence, as being  
 thought the greatest Politician amongst 'em; and  
 were not a little Proud, that the Earl of Shaft-  
 sbury in the Popish Plot had given her that Cha-  
 racter. In short, the moderate Party prevail'd, and  
 'twas agreed that one Judge in a Court should be  
 left, to colour the Actions of the rest. But that  
 which stuck with them was, that Sir William De-  
 vis, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, must  
 not be mov'd, because he had been of the Duke's  
 Party in the Time of the Popish Plot, and because  
 his

his Marriage with the Countess of *Glancarty*, whose Son had married the Earl of *Sunderland's* Daughter. However, Sir *William Davis*, being a diseased infirm Man, given over for some Years, Judge *Nugent*, (the first *Popish* Judge that was put in, and whose Father had lost his Honour and Estate for being a principal Actor in the Rebellion and Massacre of 1641.) had a Patent for his Place of Lord Chief Justice in Reversion. This being resolv'd, the rest were soon Chosen: Lord Chief Baron *Hen* made way for *Rice*, a Profligate Fellow, and in *Rice's* Room, Sir ----- *Lineb* Succeeded in the *Common-Pleas*. Sir *Alexander Fitten*, a Man notorious on Record, as convicted of Forgery both in *Westminster-Hall*, and at *Chester*, and fin'd for it by the Lords in Parliament, was taken out of the *King's Bench-Prison* to Discharge the Office of Lord High Chancellor, tho' he had no other Merit to Recommend him, but his being a Convert to the *Popish* Religion; and to him were added as Masters in *Chancery*, one *Stafford*, a *Romish* Priest, and *O-Neal*, the Son of one of the most bulie and notorious Murderers in the Massacre of 1641. But little Regard was to be had to the Man, so long as he was fitted to that Interest, which was then promoting: It being Remarkable, that of what Persuasion soever they were, whom they Employ'd at this Time, they chose Men of the most branded Reputations, and whose Principles were such as could over-rule the Dictates of their Consciences. The Three *Protestant* Judges, (for *Davis* was Decreed to Die, and did soon after) had their several Capacities and Inclinations for their Service. *Keating*, Lord Chief Justice of the *Common Pleas*, had always been a Servant of the Duke of *York's*, was a Native of the Place, and somewhat *Popishly* inclin'd; tho' a Person of more Sense than to pursue the Chace with greater Expedition than Safety. *Lynden*, Judge of the *King's Bench*, though no Friend to the *Irish* Government, yet lay under the Temptation of getting Riches to Support his numerous Family; and *Worth*, Baron of the *Exchequer*, was the Person the *Papists* most depended upon;

1687. and indeed he was the first Man in the *Exchequer* that struck the fatal Blow in all Causes, where the *English* were concern'd.

Dr. King,  
Bishop of  
London-  
Derry, his  
State of  
Ireland un-  
der King  
James.

The Supream Courts being thus fill'd up, it was but reasonable all other Courts should keep pace with them. In the Year 1687, there was not a Protestant Sheriff in the whole Kingdom, except one; and he put in by Mistake for another of the same Name that was a Papist. Some few Protestants were continued in the Commission of the Peace, but they were rendred Useless and Insignificant, being overpower'd in every thing by the great Number of *Roman Catholicks* join'd in Commission with them; and those for the most part of the very Scum of the People; and a great many whose Fathers had been Executed for Theft, Robbery and Murder.

The great Barrier of the Peoples Liberties both in *England* and *Ireland*, being their Right to chuse their own Representatives in Parliament, the Protestants in *Ireland* finding a Necessity of securing this Right in their own Hands, had procur'd many Corporations to be founded, and had Built many Corporate Towns at their own Charges; from all which the *Papists* were by their *Charters* excluded. This Barrier was broken through, by dissolving all the Corporations in the Kingdom, which was effected either by *Tyrconnel's* Promises and Threats, and the Wheedling Insinuations of *Ellis* his Secretary, or where both fail'd, by the Infalible Means of *Quo-Warranto's* brought into the *Exchequer* Court; and that without the least Shadow of Law. Hereupon new Charters were granted, and fill'd up chiefly with *Papists*, and Men of Desperate or no Fortunes: And a Clause was inserted in every one of them, which subjected them to the absolute Will of the King, by which it was put in the Power of the Chief Governour to turn out and put in whom he pleas'd.

The next Work was to agree upon a Model for the Men. This Debate was strongly canvass'd several ways; and that which chiefly puzzled them, was that the King would have nothing of this

this transacted at Court, for fear of meeting with Opposition there. This Exigency, of not being suffer'd to receive Advice from *England*, expos'd them to great Difficulties ; for they were utter Strangers to the Laws and Government of Corporations, having been conversant in nothing but Secret Plots, and Private Contrivances, how to unhinge all manner of Government ; and as an Aggravation of their Misfortune, as they own'd it themselves, except *Ricc*, *Daly*, and *Neagle*, there was not a Man in the Privy-Council that had common Sense. Necessity at last supplied the Place of Invention ; and a Method was agreed upon which reduc'd Corporations to perfect Slavery, which was their prime and ultimate Aim ; for as to Matter of Trade, or Improving of the Nation, these were Speculations of too refined a Nature for their Understandings, as was demonstrated in the first Proclamation issued forth by *Tyrconnel* and his Council, to break an Act of Parliament in taking off the Duty of Iron, and admitting it so into the Kingdom, whereby they might encourage Merchants to bring in Pieces of Eight from *Spain* ; and so hasty were they to have the Honour of this admirable Contrivance, that without asking the King's Leave (which is ever done before any Proclamation, relating to the Revenue, pass) they put it in Execution ; but as soon as 'twas heard of in *England*, a Proclamation came from the King, forbidding this wise Act of those great Statesmen. And so ill this presumptuous Folly of theirs was interpreted, that the Lord *Bellasis* swore in Council, that, *That Fellow in Ireland was Fool and Madman enough to ruin Ten Kingdoms* ; and Father *Petre* corrected him severely for this foul Miscarriage.

And now the *Irish* Papists being supported by a Lord Lieutenant of their own Persuasion, they carried all things before them ; and the Protestants were not only Oppress'd, but rendred Infamous ; for the Lord Chancellor *Fitton* did not stick to say even upon the Bench, and at other Places ; *That the Protestants were all Rogues ; and that among Forty Thousand of them, there was not one that was not a*

1687. *Traytor, or Rebel, and a Villain.* It would engage me to transcribe whole Volumes, if I should attempt to relate all the Outrages that were offer'd to the Protestants under this *Popish* Administration; and therefore I will only mention the following Particulars. The Priests began to declare openly, that the Tythes belong'd to them, and forbad their People, under the Pain of Damnation, to pay them to the Protestant Incumbents. This pass'd afterwards into an Act of Parliament, by which not only all Tythes payable by Papists, were given to their own Priests, but likewise a way was found out to make the Popish Clergy capable of enjoying the Protestant Tythes, which was thus: If a Protestant happen'd to be possess'd of a Bishoprick, a Dignity, or other Living, he might not by this new Act Demand any Tythes or Ecclesiastical Dues from any *Roman Catholics*; and as soon as his Preferment became Void by Death, Cession or Absence, a *Popish* Clergyman was put into his Place. The only great Nursery of Piety and Learning in Ireland, is the University of *Dublin*, consisting of a Provost, Seven *Senior*, and Nine *Junior* Fellows, and Seventy Scholars, who are partly maintain'd by a Yearly Salary out of the *Exchequer*. This Salary *Tyrconnel* stop'd on no other Pretence than their scrupling to admit to a vacant Fellowship, contrary to their Oaths, a vicious illiterate Man, who was a new Convert. Nor could his Excellency ever be prevail'd with to remove the Stop; and so in effect he dissolv'd the Foundation, and shut up the Fountain of Knowledge and true Religion. About the same Time *Christ - Church* was taken from the Protestants and given to the *Roman Catholics*.

Severities  
against the  
Protestant  
Clergy in  
Ireland.

To return to *England*: One would have thought, that the vigorous Opposition the King had met the last Sessions of Parliament, in his Design of setting up a dispensing Power, and establishing *Papery*, would have been sufficient to deter him from that Dangerous, not to say Chimerical, Attempt. And indeed it is not possible to imagine, that a Prince rather Debonair and Good-natur'd, than either

Character  
of King  
James's  
Ministers.

either Haughty or Cruel, could have fallen into the Desire and Exercise of a Despotick Power, and forgot so soon what he acknowledg'd himself in his First Speech to his Council, *That the Laws of England were able to make a King as Great and Happy, as he could desire to be,* if he had not been elevated by Flatterers, and Time-servers; who not only in their Secret Whispers, but even in their loud Harangues from the Pulpit, delivered these intoxicating Assertions: *That Monarchy and Hereditary Succession were by Divine Right; That the Legislature was vested in the Person of the Prince only, and the Two Houses of Parliament, that of the Commons especially, inconsiderable Parts of the Constitution; and That Kings had an unquestionable Power to dispense with Laws.* What Prince could have withstood the Temptation of grasping at Arbitrariness, and countenancing that Religion which seem'd most subservient to that End, in so favourable a Juncture, when the reigning Part of the Nation was lull'd asleep by the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience and Non-resistance*? I will not endeavour to palliate the Faults committed by the unfortunate King *James*, which are so palpable, that even a *Jesuit* Writer is forc'd to own them; but Truth obliges me to averr, that most, if not all of them, are to be charg'd on his Ambitious and Jarring Ministers, and the aspiring Ecclesiasticks, both Protestant and *Romish*, that were about him, Therefore to form a true Notion of King *James's* Government, and to know the very Springs of all his Actions, you must set before your Eyes an Easie, Credulous Prince, manag'd by a Light, Proud, Daring, Covetous Father Confessor, who is himself govern'd by a Crafty, Dissembling, Designing Statesman, and whose Pernicious, Despotick Designs he first adopts out of Vanity, and then makes his Master put in Execution out of Avarice. Add to these a Bold, Pushing, Upstart Chancellor; a Set of Corrupt Judges; two or three Protestant Bishops blindly devoted to the Will of the Prince, and some few Honest and Affectionate Courtiers rendred suspicious by the rest.



1686.

New Charters.

\* July 2d,  
1687.The King  
sets up a  
Dispensing  
Power.

King Charles II. towards the latter end of his Reign, being influenc'd by his Brother and the Popish Faction, begun to lay the Foundation of a Despotick Government, by making Bargains with Corporations, or forcing them by his *Quo-Warranto's* to Surrender their old Charters, and receive new ones from him; wherein, amongst other Resolutions, he reserv'd a Power, that if they did not return such Members to represent them in Parliament, as pleas'd him, he would resume the Charters he granted them. He was so well serv'd in this Affair, both by Chief Justice *Jeffreys*, the Earl of *Bath*, and several other Zealous Courtiers, that in less than a Year's Time the Principal Cities and Towns of England, such as *London*, *Canterbury*, *Exeter*, *Lincoln*, *Oxford*, *Colchester*, *Leicester*, *Bedford*, *Durham*, *Plimouth*, *Buckingham*, *Carlisle*, *Lancaster*, &c. either by fair or forcible Means had submitted to his Pleasure. King *James*, since his Advancement to the Throne, had follow'd the same Method to introduce his Creatures into the House of Commons; but nevertheless he found by the Proceedings of the last Sessions, that the Spirit of Liberty, and a warm Zeal for the Laws and Priviledges of the Nation, were still prevailing in this Parliament. This Consideration oblig'd him to Prorogue it from time to time, till at last he was advis'd to Dissolve \* it. In the mean time, the Lord *Jeffreys* being made Lord High Chancellor of England, in the Room of the Lord Keeper *North*, (who died when *Jeffreys* was at his Campaign in the *West*) things were carried on towards *Popery*, and absolute Monarchy, with all the Diligence and Heats Imaginable. To this End, His Majesty interrogated the old Judges, and before he would make any new ones, would enter into a Bargain with them, and engage 'em to set up his Power of dispensing with the Penal Laws and Tests. The first Man the King attempted to persuade, was Sir *Thomas Jones*, who boggled very much at it, and at last told the King plainly, He could not do it; the King answer'd, He would have twelve Judges of his Opinion: To which Sir *Thomas* replied,

replied, *That possibly he might find twelve Judges of his Opinion, but would scarce find twelve Lawyers to be so.* Not long after \* Sir Thomas Jones, Lord \* April Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas; William Montague, Esq; Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer; Sir Job Charleton, one of the Justices of the Common-Pleas, and Sir Edward Nevil, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, had their *Quietus*, for refusing to comply with the Court; and Sir Henry Bedinfield, Sir Edward Atkins, Sir Edward Lutwyche, and Richard Heath, Esq; were prefer'd to their respective Places.

The Toleration which King James design'd to grant to all his Subjects, and of which the Papists were chiefly to reap the Benefit; this Toleration, I say, could not sublist, being contrary to the establish'd Laws of the Realm, unless a more illegal Innovation was introduc'd to support it under the Name of a *Dispensing Power*; therefore King James assum'd this Power to himself, as his Prerogative and Right, whereby he invaded the very Essence of the *English Constitution*, by which the *Legislature is lodg'd in Kings, Lords and Commons*; and every one of them has a *Negative upon the other two*. Charles II. was the first King of *England* that ever aim'd at any thing like a *Dispensing Power*. In the Year 1662. he was prevail'd upon, for some Reasons of State, to issue out a Proclamation, dispensing with some few things that related to the *Act of Uniformity*, but without the least Regard to *Roman Catholics*. And tho' in his Speech to the Parliament upon that Occasion, he did in a manner acknowledge, that he had no such Power, in saying: *That if the Dissenters would demean themselves peaceably and modestly, he could heartily wish he had such a Power of Indulgence to use upon Occasion*; yet the Parliament was so Jealous of this Innovation, that they presented the King with an Address against the Proclamation; and plainly told him, *That he had no Power to dispence with the Laws, without an Act of Parliament*. Notwithstanding this Remonstrance, King Charles made another Attempt in the Year 1672. and in a Speech to both Houses, did mention his Declara-

Wel-wood's Memoirs. p. 196. &c. printed in 1700.

Attempts towards a Dispensing Power.

1686.

tion of Indulgence, and acquainted them with the Reasons that induc'd him to it ; telling them withal, how little the *Roman Catholics* would be the better for it. Upon which the House of Commons made an Address to his Majesty for recalling this Declaration ; wherein they told him : *That claiming a Power to dispence with Penal Laws, His Majesty had been very much mis-inform'd, since no such Power was ever claim'd or exercis'd by any of his Predecessors ; and if it should be admitted, might tend to the interrupting of the free Course of the Laws, and altering the Legislative Power, which has always been acknowledg'd to reside in His Majesty and his two Houses of Parliament.* King Charles was so satisfied in the Matter contained in this Address, that he immediately cancell'd his Declaration of Indulgence, tore off the Seal himself, and acquainted both Houses that he had done so ; with this further Declaration, which was enter'd upon Record in the House of Lords ; *That it should never be drawn into Example or Consequence.*

Such a Dispensing Power King James arrogated to himself, though of a far larger Extent : And how any thing that look'd that way was relish'd by the House of Commons, appears by their Address against the *Popish* Officers. Neither was it enough for King James to assume the Right and Exercise of this Power ; but such was the Misery of England, that the Party about him would have the Nation made to believe, *That a Power in the King to dispence with Law, was Law.* To maintain this monstrous Position, there were not only mercenary Pens set at Work, but a set of Judges found out, that to their Eternal Reproach, did all was possible for them to Compliment the King with the Liberty of their Country. For these Gentlemen gave it for a general Rule in Law, upon a particular Military Case of Sir Edward Hailes : First, *That the Laws of England are the King's Laws.* Secondly, *That therefore it is an incident, inseparable Prerogative of the Kings of England, as of all other Sovereign Princes, to dispence with all Penal Laws in particular*

ular Cases, and upon particular necessary Reasons. Thirdly, That of those Reasons and Necessities the King is the sole Judge; and which is a Consequence thereupon, Fourthly, That this is not a Trust invested in, or granted to the King, but the ancient Remains of the Sovereign Power of the Kings of England, which never was yet taken from them, nor can be. Thus it signified little to the Nation, that the Majority of their Law-makers remain'd firm and unshaken, whilst those Men, whose Office it was to keep the Laws uncorrupted, prostituted them to the ambitious Lust of the Prince. And now this mighty Point being gain'd, the Papists were not wanting in improving it to their own Advantage. The free and open Exercise of their Religion was set up everywhere; and Jesuit Schools and Seminaries erected not only in London, but also in the most considerable Towns. The Church of England had now but a precarious Title to the National Church, and began to see the impending Dangers, which the slavish Complaisance of some few of her Members had drawn upon the whole Body. Romish Candidates had swallow'd up Ecclesiastick Preferments and Dignities already in their Hopes; Four Roman Catholick Bishops were publicly Consecrated in the Royal Chappel, and dispatch'd down, under the Title of Vicars Apostolical, to exercise their Episcopal Functions in their respective Diocesses; their Pastoral Letters, directed to the Lay-Catholicks of England, were openly dispers'd up and down, and printed by the King's own Printer, with publick License; the Regular Clergy appear'd in their Habits at White-Hall, and St. James's, and made no Scruple to tell the Protestants, They hop'd in a little time to walk in Procession through Cheapside. A mighty Harvest of new Converts was now expected; and that Labourers might not be wanting, Shoals of Priests and Regulars were sent over from beyond Sea to reap it. In short, the only Step to Preferment was to be of the King's Religion, since all important Affairs were manag'd in the Privy-Council by the Earl of Powis, the Lords Arundel, Bellasis and Dover,

1686.

Growth of Popery.

1686. ver, the Earls of *Tyrconnel*, *Castelmair* and *Peterborough*, who all profels'd the *Romish* Perswasion, and by *Edward Petre*, Clerk of the Closet, and Father-Confessor to His Majesty.

*The King's Letter to the Bishops.* Besides the *Dispensing Power*, another Project was set on Foot to advance the *Romish* Cause, which was an Order by way of Letter, directed to the Protestant Bishops, to discharge all their inferior Clergy from Preaching upon controverted Points in Divinity, and which in effect was forbidding them to defend their Religion in the Pulpit, when it was at the same time attack'd by the *Romish* Priests, with all the Vigour they were capable of; and their Sermons and other Discourses printed by Authority. This Order was taken from a Precedent in Queen *Mary's* time; for the first Step she made to restore Popery, (notwithstanding her Promises to the Gentlemen of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk* to the contrary, upon their appearing first of any for her Interest) was to issue out a Proclamation, forbidding the Preaching upon controverted Points of Religion; for fear, it was said, of raising Animosities among the People. But this ensnaring Letter of King *James* was so far from being regarded, that the major and soundest part of the Protestant Clergy, redoubled now their pious Efforts to vindicate the Orthodoxy of the Church of *Eng'land*, and to expose the Errors of *Rome*, both in their Sermons and Writings, with such Force of Reasoning, and in such a Perswasive Stile, as are only peculiar to Truth.

*The Ecclesiastical Commission.* To stop the Progress of these Apostolical Champions of the Church of *England*, King *James* granted a Commission of Ecclesiastical Affairs, which yet was not open'd till the 3d of August, 1686. tho' it had been seal'd some Months before. It was directed to the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Jefferies*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, the Earl of *Rochester*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, the Bishops of *Durham* and *Rochester*, and the Lord Chief Justice *Herbert*, or any Three of them, whereof the Lord Chancellor was always to be one; devolving the whole Care of Spiritual Affairs upon them

them, in the largest Extent that ever had been known in *England*. By it they had Power to regulate all Matters, and correct and punish all Abuses. To make new Laws, to reform or abolish any ancient Constitution, notwithstanding any Privileges, Exemptions, Rights or Customs whatsoever; and all the Acts were to pass under a peculiar Seal, in the Custody of Mr. *Bridgeman* their Secretary, with this Inscription, *Sigillum Regiæ Majestatis ad Causas Ecclesiasticas*, The Royal Seal for Ecclesiastical Causes. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* refus'd to act in it from the beginning; and the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, tho' a great Courtier, excus'd himself as soon as he came to understand that it was levell'd against the Protestant Religion.

That the World may know upon what Foundation, or rather Pretence, this Ecclesiastical Court was erected, it must be observ'd, that before an Act made in the first Year of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, all Ordinaries and Ecclesiastical Judges ought to have proceeded according to the Censures of the Church, and could not in any Case have punish'd any Delinquent, by Fines or Imprisonment, without Parliamentary Authority. But by virtue of a Branch of the said Act, which restor'd to the Crown the ancient Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, Queen *Elizabeth*, to restrain the Growth of Popery, and to countenance the Church of *England*, set up a *High-Commission-Court*. Now because the Commissioners did proceed in all Cases to Fine, Imprison, and Oppress, not only *Popish Recusants*, but also other Dissenters; therefore for Repressing and Preventing of the aforesaid Abuses, Mischiefs and Inconveniencies, the Parliament in the Seventeenth Year of *Charles I.* repeal'd the said Branch, forbidding all Ecclesiastical Judges to proceed to Fine or Imprison the King's Subjects, or tender the Oath *ex Officio*.

Foundation  
of the Ec-  
clesiastical  
Commission.

See The  
Vindicati-  
on of the  
Ecclesia-  
stical Com-  
missioners,  
printed in  
1688.

The *High-Commission-Court* being thus put down, it was concluded by the *Papists* and *Dissenters*, that all ordinary Jurisdiction was taken from the *Archbishops*, *Bishops*, *Vicar-Generals*, or any other Per-

1686.

Persons exercising Spiritual Jurisdiction, by any Grant or Commission of the King's Majesty ; but it was declar'd and enacted (13 Carol. 2. c. 12.) That neither the said Act, (of 17 Car. 1.) nor any thing therein contain'd, does, or shall take away any such ordinary Power or Authority ; but that they may Proceed, Determine, Sentence, Execute, and Exercise all manner of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and all Censures and Coercions appertaining and belonging to the same, before the making of the Act, (17 C. 1.) in all Causes and Matters belonging to Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, according to the King's Majesty's Ecclesiastical Laws, used and practis'd in this Realm.

From this Act (13 Car. II.) the Popish Party infer'd, That there was no other Power taken from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, than that of Fining, Imprisoning, or tendering the Oath ex Officio ; That so much was suppress'd by 17 Car. I. and no more ; That an Ecclesiastical Court exercising this Power was put down, and the erecting the like for time to come strictly forbidden ; but that the Court now set up by King James, was not like to that, since it pretended not to Fine, or Imprison, or tender the Oath ex Officio, but kept within the Bounds of Ecclesiastick Censures. Nay, they did not stick to averr, That the Court held by His Majesties Ecclesiastical Commissioners, was more legal than Doctors-Commons, and the Bishops Courts, the first being in the King's Name, the others in the Archbishops and Bishops Name only. Thus the Papists, supported by a King of their Religion, beat the Protestants with their own Weapons, and made use against them of those very Statutes which were chiefly intended to discountenance Popery. But to pursue my Narrative, these Ecclesiastical Commissioners were directed by the Court to exercise their new Authority with the Suspension of Dr. Compton, Lord-Bishop of London. This Prelate, by his diffusive Charity, and wise Conduct, had gain'd the Love and Esteem of all the Protestant Churches both at home and abroad ; and contented with that Distinction which his noble Birth, and his eminent Station gave him, had disdain'd those mean and servile Arts, whereby

*Character  
of the Bi-  
shop of  
London.*



by some other Clergymen had recommended themselves to the King's Favour; all which made him the Mark of the Envy and Hatred of the *Romish* Party at Court. Besides, the King had a particular Pique against this Reverend Prelate upon the following Account: When the Lords, in the last Parliament had voted an Address of Thanks to His Majesty, for his Speech, he mov'd in his own, and the other Bishops Name, that the House might debate the King's Speech; which as it was extraordinary and unusual in the House, for the Clergy to thwart the Court; so it was no less surprizing to the King, who now dreaded the Lords would concur with the Commons in their Address, and construed this Step to be a piece of unpardonable Presumption in the Bishop. Nothing therefore was wanting, but an Occasion to ennoble the *Eccllesiastical Commission* with the Sacrifice of this illustrious Prelate; and such an Occasion was rather taken than given in the Business of Dr. Sharp, at that time Rector of St. Giles's, and now Archbishop of York.

1686.

*Proceed-  
ings against  
him and  
Dr. Sharp.*

The *Romish* Priests about the King had prevail'd with His Majesty to send to the *Protestant* Bishops the Letter or Order, already mention'd, containing Directions about Preachers. Dr. Sharp, a learned Divine, and principally admir'd for his great Talents for the Pulpit, and easie, tho' manly Eloquence, taking Occasion in some of his Sermons to vindicate the Church of England, in Opposition to the Frauds and Corruptions of *Popery*; this, by the Court Emissaries was interpreted to be, *the endeavouring to beget in the Minds of his Hearers an ill Opinion of the King and his Government, by insinuating Fears and Jealousies to dispose them to Discontent, and to lead them into Disobedience, Schism and Rebellion*; and consequently, a Contempt of the Order about Preachers. Whereupon the King sent a Letter to the Bishop of London, containing an Order to Suspend Dr. Sharp from Preaching in any Parish or Chappel in his Diocess, until the Doctor had given Satisfaction, and His Majesties further Pleasure should be known. The Bishop of London perceiving what

*The King's  
Letter to  
the Bishop  
of London,  
June 14.  
1686.*

1686. what the Court aim'd at in this Letter, endeavour'd to divert the Storm that threatned not only him, but the whole Church of *England*. He writ a Letter to the Secretary of State, to be communicated to the King, setting forth: "That he thought it his Duty to obey His Majesty in whatsoever Commands he laid upon him, that he could perform with a safe Conscience; But in this he was to proceed according to Law, and as a Judge; and by the Law, no Judge condemns a Man before he has Knowledge of the Cause, and has cited the Party. That however he had acquainted Dr. *Sharp* with His Majesties Pleasure, whom he found so ready to give all reasonable Satisfaction, that he had made him the Bearer of that Letter.

*Bishop of London's Letter.*

*Dr. Sharp's Petition.*

With this Letter from the Bishop of *London*, Dr. *Sharp* carried a Petition to the King in his own Name, humbly representing, "That ever since His Majesty was pleas'd to give Notice of his Displeasure against him, he had forborn the publick Exercise of his Function: And as he had endeavour'd to do the best Service he could to His Majesty, and His late Brother, in his Station, so he had not vented now in the Pulpit any thing tending to Faction or Schism; and therefore prayed His Majesty would be pleas'd to lay aside his Displeasure conceiv'd against him, and restore him to that Favour which the rest of the Clergy enjoy'd. All these Submissions were to no Purpose; nothing could satisfy the *Popish Cabal*, but a Revenge upon the Bishop of *London* for his exemplary Zeal in the Defence of the Protestant Church; and this Affair of Dr. *Sharp* was made use of as a plausible Pretence to mortifie him, and in his Person the whole Body of the Clergy; who now began to dread the Rod they themselves had, in a manner, put into the King's Hand, by their late Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners, (*viz.* the Chancellor, the Earls of *Sunderland* and *Rocheſter*, the Bishops of *Durham* and *Rocheſter*, and the Lord Chief-Justice *Herbert*) being set at *White-Hall*, the Bishop of *London*,

\* Aug. 4.  
1686.

London, according to their Summons, made his Appearance before 'em, and was treated in a manner unworthy of his Quality, and high Station in the Church, not being allow'd so much as a Stool to sit on. *Jefferies* their Chairman told him, with his usual Bluntness, That the King had given them a Commission, by which they were impower'd to take Cognizance of all Ecclesiastical Matters, and that they were order'd to Cite him before them; that he had but a short Question to ask him, and desir'd him to answer positively, *Why he had not obey'd His Majesties Command for suspending Dr. Sharp?* The Bishop of *London* own'd he had receiv'd such a Command from the King, but "that  
" if he committed any Fault in that Affair, 'twas  
" rather thro' Ignorance or Mistake, than wilful Diso-  
" bedience; that he had always been ready to pay all  
" manner of Respect to His Majesty's Orders; and  
" that if he had not given him Proofs of his duti-  
" ful Submission upon this Occasion, 'twas because  
" he was assur'd he could not lawfully do it; that  
" he took the best Advice he could get concern-  
" ing the Suspension of *Dr. Sharp*, and was in-  
" form'd, that the Letter being sent to him as  
" Bishop of *London*, to suspend a Person under his  
" Jurisdiction, he was therein to act as a Judge, it  
" being a judicial Act; and that no Person could  
" by Law be punish'd by Suspension, before he  
" was call'd, or without being admitted to make  
" his Defence; that he thought it therefore his  
" Duty forthwith humbly to represent so much  
" to the Lord President, that so he might receive  
" His Majesties Pleasure in that Matter; never-  
" theless, that he might obey His Majesties Com-  
" mands, as far as by Law he could, he did then  
" send for *Dr. Sharp*, and acquainted him with  
" His Majesties Displeasure, and the Occasion of it;  
" that the Doctor having never been call'd to an-  
" swer any such Matter, or make his Defence;  
" but rather protesting his Innocence, and like-  
" wise declaring himself most ready to give His  
" Majesty full Satisfaction therein, he advis'd him  
" to forbear Preaching, until he had applied him-  
" self

1685.



“ self to His Majesty ; that at his Request he made  
 “ him the Bearer of a Letter to the Lord-President,  
 “ waiting for His Majesties further Orders to pro-  
 “ ceed against him *judicially*, in case he should not  
 “ at that time give His Majesty the Satisfaction  
 “ requir’d ; and that the said Doctor had not since  
 “ preach’d within his Diocess. He further said,  
 “ That he was unprepar’d to answer, not knowing  
 “ before what he was Cited for ; and therefore  
 “ pray’d the Court that he might have a Copy  
 “ of the Commission by which they acted, and  
 “ of his Accusation. The Chancellor desir’d him  
 to explain his Demands ; for if he ask’d a Copy  
 of their Commission, with Design to dispute the  
 Jurisdiction of the Court, he had an Answer ready  
 for him ; that till they knew what Use he would  
 make of it, he must needs tell him his Demand  
 was unreasonable, and therefore not to be granted;  
 that their Commission was upon Record, and  
 to be seen in every Coffee-House ; and that he  
 doubted not but that his Lordship had seen it.  
 The Bishop replied, he had never seen it, neither  
 did he desire to see it with Design to dispute the  
 Legality of it ; but that there having been no such  
 Commission granted within an Hundred Years  
 past, he might perhaps find something in it either  
 to justify his past, or at least to direct his future  
 Conduct in this Affair ; that if they would not let  
 him have a Copy of it, he hop’d at least they  
 would allow him to read it, or cause it to be read  
 to him, which was refus’d. Then the Bishop de-  
 sir’d a Copy of the Information, which was like-  
 wise denied ; *Jefferies* alledging, That such a Court  
 as theirs was, always proceeded briefly, and *Vox*  
*voce*, and therefore he must ask him the same short  
 Question once more, *Why he did not obey*  
*the King ?* The Bishop said, The Question  
 was indeed a short one, but that it requir’d many  
 Words to be answer’d ; that he desir’d the Court  
 to consider he was a Peer and a Bishop ; and that as  
 he bore a publick, tho’ undeserved, Character, he  
 ought to be the more cautious of doing any thing  
 contrary to Law ; that as he understood there was no  
 Appeal

Appeal from the Judgments of that Court, but he knew also, that when a Man is in danger of being overwhelmed at one Blow, any Court of Judicature will allow him some reasonable time to make his Defence; that the Judges being gone to the Circuits, it was not possible for him to advise with his Council; and therefore mov'd for a Delay till *October* next following; thereupon the Chancellor exclaim'd against the Unreasonableness of his Demand, so that the Court granted him but Four Days; which being over, the Bishop appear'd \* a- \* Monday] gain before the Commissioners, accompanied by Aug. 9. the Earl of *Northampton* his Nephew, Sir *Francis Compton* his Brother, Sir *John Nicholas* his Brother-in-law, and several other Persons of Quality; and said, He was not yet so well prepar'd as he ought to be; That being told by the Court the *Wednesday* before that the Commission was to be seen in all Coffee-Houses, he had caus'd it to be lookt for ever since, but could not procure it till the Night before. That he was a Peer of the Realm, and hop'd the Commission did not concern him no more than the Particular Case in question, and therefore desir'd the Court to allow him more time to make his Defence; which Demand was supported by Sir *Thomas Clargis*, who happening to be there present, said loudly, The Bishop ask'd nothing but what was reasonable. The Commissioners after a short Consultation granted him a Fortnight longer, and at parting, Chancellor *Jefferies* made a sort of an Excuse to the Bishop for what he had told him before, that *the Commission was to be seen in all Coffee-Houses*, saying, he did not mean it, as if the Bishop frequented such Places; but only to express that the Commission was publickly seen all the Town over. On the 31th of *August* the Bishop of *London* appear'd the third time before the Ecclesiastical Court with a numerous Attendance; and said, That tho' the time had been but short; considering the Importance of the Business in Debate, yet he had consulted such learned Civilians as were then in Town; that he hoped the Court would put no ill Construction upon his Expressions; that

1686. he did not design to speak any thing derogatory to the King's Authority, or to the Respect he owed to the Commissioners, but that his Counsel had assur'd him, that the Proceedings of the Court were entirely against the Laws of the Realm, and that they were ready to prove it, if the Court would give 'em leave. This bold Answer grating the Chancellor's Ear, he told the Bishop, the Court would neither suffer him nor his Counsel to dispute its Jurisdiction, being convinc'd of the Legality of their Commission. The undaunted Prelate replied, That he was a Bishop of the Church of England, and that according to the Canons of all the Christian Churches of all Ages, and even according to the particular Statutes of this Kingdom, if he had committed any Fault, he ought to be cited before his Metropolitan, and that he hop'd he should enjoy the Prerogatives of a Christian Bishop. The Bishop's Plea against the Legality of the Ecclesiastical Commission being over-rul'd by this tyrannical Argument, often repeated by *Jefferies*, *Must not the King be obeyed? Must not the King be obeyed?* That reverend Prelate having made his Protestation against it, as a Subject, according to the Laws of the Land, and as a Bishop, according to the Priviledges and Immunities of the Church, he gave in his Answer in writing, being the same in effect which he made by Word of Mouth at his first Appearance; to which were tack'd the King's Letter, an Answer to that Letter directed to the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Petition *Dr. Sharp* had drawn to be put up to His Majesty, but which was rejected. As he presented his Answer, he added, That he had done nothing on this Occasion without the Advice of Counsel learned in the Law; that he had consulted the Chancellor of his own Court, and some other Civilians, and that the Law declar'd that what was done by the Advice of Lawyers, ought not to be construed to be done with Malice or Obstinacy; that 'twas a receiv'd Maxim in the Civil Law, that if a Prince commands a Judge to execute an Order which he thinks illegal, he ought humbly *Rescribere Principi*; and

1686.

ed, that the Law looks upon Service done to the Prince; as Maxim he had only d<sup>e</sup>aving acquainted the Lord Jeafons for not fufpending D<sup>r</sup> that his Council, to wit, Dr. Dr. Brier, and Dr. Newton, w<sup>h</sup>at his Allegations. Accord<sup>g</sup> examin'd the King's Letter, a luct: They represented, th looks there is no Precedent t<sup>o</sup>olute Sufpention, without a previous Citation; und Judgment paff upon the Perfon to be Sufpended; that to act otherwife would be a ma<sup>n</sup>ifest Breach of the Laws of God, of Nature, and of all civiliz'd Nations; Besides, that the Bifhop's Advice to Dr. Sharp to forbear Preaching would be interpreted an Obedience to the King's Command in all the Courts of Judicature in England; that the Bifhops are *Custodes Canonum*, and therefore ought not to be the firft that infringe 'em; in fhort, they alledg'd fuch Reasons as would have abundantly juftify'd the Bifhop before any Tribunal where Juftice fhould take Place. But the Court being adjourn'd till the 6th of September following, that *Jefferies* might report the Proceedings to the King, and receive His Majesty's Orders about this Affair, on the appointed Day the Comm<sup>on</sup>s order'd Mr. Bridgman their Secretary to read their Definitive Sentence, whereby they did Declare, Decree and Pronounce, that the Bifhop of London (who then attended the Court) fhould for his Difobedience and Contempt be Sufpended during His Majesty's Pleafure, and be accordingly was Sufpended; with a Peremptory Admonition to abftain from the Function and Execution of his Epifcopal Office, and other Ecclefiaftical Jurifdictions, during the faid Sufpention, under the Penalty of Deprivation, and being remov'd from his Bifhoprick. Thefe Proteftant Inquifitors fufpended at the fame time Dr. Sharp, as alfo Dr. but he was foon after reftor'd to the Exercife of his Functions.

The Bifhop  
of London  
Sufpended  
Sept. 6.  
1686.



1686.

The *Jesuits* to advance their grand Design of establishing Popery, continually represented to His Majesty the great Progress the King of *France* had lately made in the Conversion of his Protestant Subjects, by the infallible Arguments of his Military Missionaries, and made him sensible how precarious his *Dispensing* Power would be, unless it had a stronger Support than the Opinion of his Judges in *Westminster-Hall*. The King, who, as I have said before, was easily led into any Project that seem'd to secure him the Possession of his airy Mistress, Despotick Authority, assembled \* all his Troops to the number of Fourteen or Fifteen Thousand Men, on *Hounslow-Heath*, and caus'd a Chapel to be erected at his Head-Quarters, where Mass was publickly said every Day. Tho' this small Army consisted, for the most part, of Protestants, there being but few *Roman Catholick* Officers of Distinction, such as the Duke of *Berwick*, the Earl of *Dunbarton*, the Lords *Dover* and *Mongommery*, Colonel *Richard Hamilton*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Sackville*, &c. Nevertheless it gave no small Jealousie to a People who were never us'd to see Encampments in time of Peace; and who consider'd how some of their Neighbours had lost their Liberties, by suffering their Princes to keep up Standing Forces. Many were afraid, lest the Protestants in the King's Army should join with the *Romanists* in advancing the Popish Cause; it being the Principles, as well as Duty of Soldiers, blindly to execute the Commands of their Leaders. To prevent which, Mr. *Samuel Johnson*, a learned Divine, who upon several other Occasions had signaliz'd his Zeal against Arbitrary Government, address'd to them the following Advice.

Gentlemen,

John-  
Ad-

“NEXT to the Duty we owe to God, which ought to be the principal Care of Men of your Profession, which carry your Lives in your Hands, and often look Death in the Face, is the Service of your native Country, wherein I drew your first Breaths, and breath a free  
“English

*English Air.* Now I desire you to consider how you will comply with these two main Points, by engaging in the present Service. Is it in the Name of God for his Service, that you have join'd your selves with Papists? Who indeed must fight for the *Mass-Book*, but will *burn the Bible*, and who seek to extirpate the *Protestant Religion* with your Swords, because they cannot do it with their own? And will you be aiding and assisting to set up *Mass-Houses*, to erect that Kingdom of Darkness and Desolation amongst us, and to train up all our Children to *Popery*? How can you do these things, and call your selves *Protestants*?

What Service can you do your Country, by being under the Command of *French and Irish Papists*, and by bringing the Nation under a Foreign Yoke? Will you help them to make forcible Entry into the Houses of your Countrymen, under the Name of Quartering, contrary to *Magna-Charta*, and *Petition of Right*? Will you be aiding and assisting to all the Murders and Outrages which they shall commit by their void Commissions, which were declar'd illegal, and sufficiently blasted by both Houses of Parliament, if there had been any need of it; for it was very well known before, that a Papist cannot have a Commission, but by Law is utterly disabled and disarm'd? Will you exchange your *Birth-right*, of *English Laws and Liberties*, for *Martial and Club-Law*; and help to destroy all others, only at last to be eaten up your selves? If I know you well, as you are *Englishmen*, you hate and scorn those things. Therefore be not unequally yoked with *Idolatrous and Bloody Papists*: Be valiant for the Truth, and shew your selves Men. The same Considerations are likewise humbly offer'd to all *English Seamen*, who have been the Bulwark of this Nation against *Popery and Slavery* ever since 1588.

The Tendency of this Address was too fatal to the King's Designs to be left unpunish'd; and there-

1686. therefore Mr. Johnson being try'd for this high  
 Misdemeanour, was sentenc'd \* by the Court of  
 \* Nov. 16. King's-Bench, Sir Edw. Herbert being Chief Justice,  
 to stand Three times in the Pillory, and to be  
 whipt from Newgate to Tyburn, which was seven  
 † Nov. 20. ly executed upon him after he had been † degraded  
 from performing his Office as Minister of the Gos-  
 pel, by the Bishops of Durham, Rochester and Pe-  
 terborough, appointed Commissioners to exercise  
 all manner of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction during the  
 Suspension of the Bishop of London. This re-  
 sonable Advice began to sow the Seeds of the  
 Defection which happen'd Two Years after in the  
 King's Army.

It appear'd a little while after how fondly King  
 James was possess'd with his Delign of reconciling  
 his Protestant Subjects to the Church of Rom.  
 Over and above the Tie of Affinity, and the  
 grateful Remembrance of Services past, His Ma-  
 jesty ever had a particular Affection and Esteem for  
 the Earl of Rochester, his Brother-in-law, on whom  
 therefore he bestow'd the important and benefi-  
 cial Place of Lord High-Treasurer of England upon  
 his first Advancement to the Throne; but yet  
 nothing was able to maintain the Earl in his Post,  
 but the changing his Religion, and embracing the  
 King's, which, by this time, was become the on-  
 ly Step to Preferment  
 press'd and fatigued  
 His Majesty, that to  
 any Prejudice of Ed-  
 persever'd in his Ro-  
 some Protestant Di-  
 Priests, and promis'  
 Thereupon the King  
 held at White-Hall  
 Earl of Rochester, an  
 assisted. The Prote-  
 ting street, a Man of  
 Jane, a Person of de-  
 for Polemick Divin-  
 stood up for the Ro-  
 their Dispute was,

Conference  
 between Two  
 Protestant  
 Divines,  
 and Two  
 Benedi-  
 ctines.

*Judge in Controversie.* This Conference was long and tedious, as it always happens where Debates are manag'd with Strength of Reasoning on one side, and Obstinate Ignorance on the other; but at last the *Romish* Sticklers were forc'd to leave the Field to their Antagonists; whereupon the Earl of *Rochester* openly declar'd. that the Victory the Protestant Divines had gain'd, made no Alteration in his Mind, being beforehand convinc'd of the Truth of his Religion, and firmly resolv'd never to forsake it. His Majesty going off abruptly was heard to say, *He never saw a bad Cause so well, nor a good one so ill maintain'd.* Not many Days after the King sent to the Earl for his Commission of High-Treasurer, which he presently resign'd; and which was bestow'd \* on the Lords *Bellasis* and *Dover*, two *Roman* Catholics, and on the Lord *Godolphin*, Sir *John Earnly*, and Sir *Stephen Fox*. To alleviate his Disgrace, His Majesty assign'd him an Annuity of Five Thousand Pounds upon the Post-Office, which so engag'd the Earl, that he afterwards went over to *Holland*, to take care of the King's Interest there, and give a fair Interpretation of his Designs. Several other Protestants of Distinction were closeted upon account of their Religion, and turn'd out of their Employments for not complying with His Majesties Desire. In short, the King acted in so despotick a manner, and Popery made so rapid a Progress, that some of the *Roman* Catholics complain'd of the violent Methods, and unpolitical Conduct of the leading Men of their Party: And as the still Sea is generally observ'd to be the Fore-runner of a Storm, the wisest and most discerning amongst 'em began to suspect some sudden Change from the quiet and moderate Behaviour of the Protestants.

The Earl of  
Rochester  
surrenders  
his Com-  
mission.

\* Jan. 5.  
1687.

The Governing Party about King James were so eager to make a Shew of their Chymerial Theophies, that towards the latter end of the Year 1686. the Earl of *Castlemain* was dispatch'd to *Rome* in Quality of Extraordinary Ambassador, where he made his publick Entry \* with a magnificent Train, and most splendid Equipage. His Instructions

Embassie to  
Rome.

\* Jan. 8  
1687.

1684: *Actions* were, to reconcile the Kingdoms of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, to the Holy See from which, for more than an Age they had fallen off by the *Northern Heresie*. *Innocent XI.* receiv'd this *Embassie* as one who saw further than those who sent it. The Ambassador had but a cold Reception from the Holy Father; and none of the Cardinals, but those of a particular Faction, took any further Notice of him, than what Form and good Manners oblig'd them to. The Court of *Rome* were too refin'd Politicians to be impos'd upon by Shew and Noise, and were too well acquainted with *England* to expect great Matters from such precipitated Advances as the King made in his Designs. Besides, *Innocent* being not only strongly prepossess'd in Favour of the House of *Austria*; but having an Averſion to the *French*, (ever since he was wou-  
 ed by one of that Nation in a single Combat when he was a general Officer in the King of *Spain's* Army) and a fresh Pique, besides, against the Court of *France*, on account of the *Regale*, and the Bombarding of *Genoa*, He was not over-fond of an *Embassie* from a Prince who was in an Interest he wish'd to see humbled. *Castlemaine* had several Audiences of the Pope, but to little Purpose; for whenever he began to talk of Business, his Holiness had a Fit of Coughing at command; to rid himself of the Ambassador's Conversation. These Audiences and Fits of Coughing continued from time to time, while *Castlemaine* staid at *Rome*, and were the Subject of Diversion to all, but a particular Faction at that Court. At length he was advis'd to threaten to be gone, since he could not have an Opportunity to treat with the Pope about the Business he came for. The good old Father was so little concern'd at the Ambassador's Resentments, that when they told him of it, he answer'd with his usual Coldness: *E bene; se vuol andarſene, litagli adunque che ſi levi di buona matina al fresco, e che nel mezza giorno ſi ripoſi, perche in queſti poſi non biſogna viaggiare al calda del giorno.* Well, ſince

## The Reign of King JAMES II.

89

he will be gone, tell him he had best to rise early in the Morning, and rest himself at Noon; for in these Countries it's dangerous to travel in the Heat of the Day. In short, King James met with nothing but Mortification at Rome, in the Person of his Ambassador, whom he soon after recall'd, being able to obtain of the Pope but Two inconsiderable things, viz. a License for the Mareschal d'Humieres's Daughter to marry her Uncle; and the other a Dispensation of the Statutes of the Jesuits Order, that Father Peter's might be a Privy-Counsellor, and enjoy a Bishoprick; the want of which was suppos'd to be the Reason of the Vacancy of the Archbishoprick of York. As for the Supplies which Castlemain had private Orders to ask, his Holiness excus'd himself upon Account of the vast Sums he gave the Emperor and the Venetians to carry on the War against the Infidels, The Jesuits at Rome made the Earl of Castlemain some Amends for the cold Treatment he receiv'd from the Pope; for indeed they paid him the highest Respect imaginable, and entertain'd him with the greatest Magnificence.

The Privy-Council of Scotland having acquainted the King, that his Commands were exactly obey'd, and that his Royal Proclamation for Liberty of Conscience was printed and publish'd; and assur'd His Majesty, that they believ'd his Promise to be the best and greatest Security they could have, that he would maintain the Church and their Religion as it was establish'd by Law; This ready Compliance of the Scots was very acceptable to His Majesty, and gave him Hopes to find the same Docility in his English Subjects. Thereupon having assembled his Privy-Council, he declared to them, "That he had resolv'd to issue out a Declaration for a general Liberty of Conscience to all Persons of what Persuasion soever; which he was mov'd to do by having observ'd, that altho' an Uniformity in Religious Worship had been endeavour'd to be establish'd within this Kingdom in the successive Reigns of Four of his Prodecessors, assist'd by their respective Parliaments, yet it had

Letter from the Council of Scotland, 24th Feb. 1686.

K. James's Speech to his Council, March 18th, 1686.

"prov'd

" prov'd altogether ineffectual. That the Restrain  
 " upon the Consciences of Dissenters in order  
 " thereunto, had been very Prejudicial to the Na-  
 " tion, as was sadly experienc'd by the horrid Re-  
 " bellion in the Time of His Majesties Father.  
 " That the many Penal Laws made against Dissen-  
 " ters, had rather encreas'd than lessen'd the Num-  
 " ber of them; and that nothing could more  
 " conduce to the Peace and Quiet of that Kingdom  
 " and the Encrease of the Number, as well as of  
 " the Trade of his Subjects, than an entire Li-  
 " berty of Conscience; it having always been His  
 " Majesties Opinion, as most suitable to the Princi-  
 " ples of Christianity, that no Man should be per-  
 " secuted for Conscience Sake, which His Majesty  
 " thought are not to be forc'd; and that it could ne-  
 " ver be the true Interest of a King of England to  
 " endeavour to do it. And at the same Time, he  
 " gave Directions to his Attorney and Solicitor-Ge-  
 " neral, not to permit any Process to issue in his  
 " Name against any Dissenter whatsoever.

This Speech seem'd so Plausible that it met with  
 no manner of Opposition in the Council; or ra-  
 ther the Council was so fram'd to the King's Will,  
 and so blinded by Ambition and Interest, that they  
 neither would nor could see the Drift of that  
 Speech; so that His Majesty thinking the Nation  
 was now ready to undergo a Yoke, he impos'd up-  
 on them with all the Gentleness imaginable, and  
 with the Pomp and Shew of an Indulgence, he  
 caus'd his *gracious Declaration for Liberty of Consci-  
 ence to be publish'd*, \* being much the same with  
 that of Scotland; save only that the Expressions  
 of *annulling and repealing Tests and Oaths*, which  
 were made use of in that, were softned in this  
 into those of *Suspending and Dispensing with Penal  
 Laws, &c.* In the Preamble His Majesty does not  
 scruple to say, *That he cannot but heartily wish, as it  
 will easily be believ'd, that all his Subjects were Mem-  
 bers of the Catholick Church; yet it is his Opinion that  
 Conscience ought not to be constrain'd; and for the  
 Reasons allow'd in the abovemention'd Speech,*  
 which he repeats here at large; by Virtue of his  
 Royal

\* April  
 4th 1687.  
*Declaration  
 for Liberty  
 of Consci-  
 ence.*



Royal Prerogative, He thinks fit to issue forth this his Declaration of Indulgence; making no doubt of the Concurrence of his two Houses of Parliament, when he shall think it convenient for them to Meet. First, He declares, that he will Protect and Maintain his Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and Clergy, and all other his Subjects of the Church of England, in the free Exercise of their Religion, as by Law establish'd; and in the quiet and full Enjoyment of all their Possessions. He likewise declares, that it is his Royal Will and Pleasure that all Penal Laws for Non-conformity to the Religion establish'd, or by Reason of the Exercise of Religion in any manner whatsoever, be immediately Suspended. And to the End that by the Liberty hereby granted, the Peace and Security of his Government in the Practice thereof may not be endanger'd, he strictly Charges and Commands all his Subjects, that as he freely gives them Leave to meet and serve God after their own Way, be it in Private Houses, or Places purposely hired or built for that Use; so that they take special Care, that nothing be Preach'd or Taught amongst them, which may tend to alienate the Hearts of his People from him or his Government; and that their Meetings and Assemblies be Peaceably, Openly, and Publickly held, and all Persons freely admitted to them, and that they do signify and make known to some one or more of the next Justices of the Peace, what Place or Places they set apart for those Uses. And as he is desirous to have the Benefit of the Service of all his Subjects, which by the Law of Nature is inseparably annex'd, and inherent in his Royal Person; and that none of his Subjects may for the future be under any Discouragement or Disability, who are otherwise well inclin'd and fit to Serve him, by Reason of some Oaths or Tests that have usually been administred on such Occasions, he hereby further declares, that it is his Will and Pleasure, that the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and the several Tests and Declarations mention'd in the Acts of Parliament made in the 25th and 30th Years of his Brother's Reign, shall not hereafter be required to be taken, declar'd, or subscrib'd by any Persons whatsoever, who are or shall be employ'd in any Office or Place of Trust

1687.



Trust either Civil or Military, under him or in his Government; and it is his Intention from time to time hereafter, to grant his Royal Dispensations to all his Subjects so to be employ'd, who shall not Take the said Oaths, or Subscribe or Declare the said Tests or Declarations. And he does hereby give his free and ample Pardon to all Non-conformists, Recusants, and other his Subjects, for all Crimes and Things by them Committed, or done contrary to the Penal Laws, formerly made relating to Religion, and the Profession or Exercise thereof. And although the Freedom and Assurance he has hereby given in relation to Religion and Property, might be sufficient to remove from the Minds of his Subjects all Fears and Jealousies in relation to either, yet he thinks fit to declare, that he will maintain them in all their Properties and Possessions, as well of Church and Abbey-lands, as in other their Estates and Properties whatsoever.

Addresses of  
Thanks for  
the Liberty  
of Conscience.

The Presbyterians, Quakers, Anabaptists, and other Dissenters, had lately been so Harass'd and Persecuted, that 'tis no Wonder they were so eager to lay hold of this Opportunity of sheltering themselves from Oppression. And indeed 'tis natural for People that labour under violent and rack-ing Pains, greedily and thankfully to receive any Remedies that are offer'd them for present Ease, without considering whether 'tis a friendly or unfriendly Hand that Administers the quieting Potion; but then again, as soon as the Treacherous Effects of a Palliative Medicine are over, and the old Dissemper returns with redoubled Fury, Men are apt to Curse the Authors of their additional Torments, and have Recourse to more Effectual though, perhaps, more violent Remedies. Thus the Presbyterians being releas'd from their Prisons, and allow'd the free and publick Exercise of their Religion, thought no Praises too great to Express their Gratitude, no Blessings sufficient to Reward their Deliverer and Benefactor. Nay, so extravagantly Thankful were some of them in their Addresses, as to fill 'em with Acknowledgments that nearly border'd upon Blasphemy. But at last they open'd their Eyes: They perceiv'd the  
Venom

Effects of  
the Decla-  
ration with  
the Presby-  
terians.

Venom that lay hid in those indulgent and plainly saw, that though the King a general Toleration to his Subjects, yet only were design'd to receive the Benefit that all the Places of Trust, both Civil and Military, would soon devolve into their Hands; the sudden Favours we receive from an Enemy are always Suspicious, they will never'd that the Reason of this seem'd from the Court, was only because they engage the Church of England in their Designs had prov'd ineffectual. Then reflecting on this Fundamental Maxim of the Roman Catholics, *That they are not bound to keep Faith with Hereticks*, but may use all manner of Equivocations and Retractions either to Convert or Exterminate them; lest they should be Accessary to their own Ruin, they held Private Conferences with the Episcopal Party, about the most Proper Means to dispel the Storm that threatned them both; to this end, a Reconcilement in Point of Religious Worship was chiefly thought Necessary; and some Presbyterian Teachers prest it so much in their Pulpits, that the Dissenters of Canterbury, Rochester, and some other Places in Kent, declared they were ready to join in Communion with the Church of England.

On the other hand, the Church of England saw presently through this Jesuitical Contrivance, and dreaded the Consequences; they look'd upon it as a just Judgment from Heaven, for the Rigour they had exercis'd against the Non-conformists in King Charles Hd's Time; they began to blame the overstrain'd and indiscreet Zeal of some of their Ambitious Prelates; which had reduc'd the Dissenters, both in England, Scotland, and Ireland, to the Necessity, not only of accepting of, but even of suing for this general Indulgence; in short, they were now made sensible that those who put them upon executing the Penal Laws, did but make them Properties to hinder the Dissenters from uniting with the Church of England; and play them against one another, that their Divisions might add Strength to the Pa-

With the  
Church of  
England.

pists

1687.

*ists* to destroy them both. Thus by the Liberty of Conscience King James lost his Episcopal Party, who had set the Crown upon his Head, without winning the *Presbyterians*, that had endeavour'd to exclude him; and both Church-men and Dissenters perceiving their Common Danger, forgot at least suspended their old Animosities, and join'd Councils to prevent their imminent Ruin.

But in the mean Time the King's Declaration did in some Measure answer the Ends for which it was publish'd, and scarce a Day past without some Protestant or other being reconcil'd to the Church of Rome. And indeed if we consider the Frailties of Humane Nature, and how powerfully the Lust of Honours and Riches rules over Mankind, how could it prove otherwise? 'Tis true the King had declar'd that he would advance Employments those Persons only, whose Worth and Affection should recommend them to his favour, without any Regard to their Religion; but yet who could be so little discerning as not to perceive that to be of the King's Religion was the most distinguishing Merit, and the surest way to Preferment? Therefore those who were already in Employments, and whose Consciences were not over-nice, went to Mass to avoid Disgrace; and others of the same Stamp, who gap'd after Place, did not scruple to Sacrifice their Religion to their Ambition; when those who had nothing but Zeal, Loyalty, and Affection to plead for them, were either turn'd out, if in Place; or if out of Place left unregarded.

*Protestants  
turn'd out  
of Employ-  
ment.*

The Truth of  
by Examples: My  
vast Ambition by p  
or only to Gratific  
exhausted his Por  
tholick, and by th  
dant, which his  
gave him over Ea  
he had in the K  
though in the Ye  
for the Bill of Exc

1687.

out of his Place of Secretary of State to Charles II. Whereas the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester, the King's Brothers-in-Law, and who had signaliz'd their Loyalty and Affection to his Majesty, by a continued Course of Important Services, particularly in the ticklish Affair of the Popish Plot and Bill of Exclusion, were remov'd from their Employments, meerly upon account of their Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and Roman Catholicks advanc'd in their Rooms. Some will have it, that the Earl of ~~S-----~~ a zealous Competitor, not to say an irreconcilable Enemy of the Earl of Rochester, undermin'd both him and his Brother the Earl of Clarendon, to get them out of the King's Favour. But still it's certain, that the Pretence of his Insinuations against them, and the King's main Reason for laying them aside, was their standing up for the Protestant Interest. The same happen'd not long after to the Earl of ~~Shr---bury~~, who refusing to return within the Pale of the Roman Catholick Church, from which he had stray'd (as the Papists phras'd it) ever since Oates's Plot, was turn'd out of his Commission of Colonel of Horse, and his Regiment bestow'd on Richard Hamilton.

As the Papists were chiefly intended to reap the Fruits of the Liberty of Conscience, so they were not wanting to acknowledge the King's Favour. The Lord Arundel of Wardour, (made \* lately \* March Lord Privy-Seal in the Room of the Earl of Clarendon) the Marquis of Powis, the Lord Bellasis, and several other Persons of Quality presented an Address to His Majesty, in behalf of themselves and the rest of the Roman Catholicks of this Kingdom; wherein They testified their Thankfulness to Almighty God, and His Majesty, for so happy an Expedient, for the Ease and Comfort of all his Subjects; and though they were thought not to desire the least Ease or Good to those that differ'd from them in Opinion, yet they did not only Rejoice in the Universality of His Majesties Bounty, but that it flow'd from a Prince of their own Religion. And now 'twas high Time for the Jesuits to set up Seminaries, in order to cause unwary Protestant Youths to imbibe the Po-

11th, 1687.

The Papists  
Address,  
May 28th.

Po-

1687. *Popish* Religion, under the fair Pretence of instructing them in Humane Learning. Accordingly they open'd their Schools in several Places in England, particularly in London, in the ancient Royal Palace call'd the *Savoy*; which gave Occasion to Dr. *Tennison*, (then Rector of *St. Martin's*, and now Archbishop of *Canterbury*) a Person of Exemplary Piety and Charity, to erect his Free-School at *St. Martin's*, adorn'd with a Choice Library, in Free-School. Opposition to that *Jesuitical* Colledge.

Not long after Dr. *Tennison* met with an Opportunity of Signalizing his Learning and Zeal in the Defence of the Protestant Religion, which the *Jesuits* by subtle Arts, and unfair Practices, endeavour'd to undermine. The Dr. being inform'd that an Apprentice of his Parish was departing from the Church of *England*, having been at *Mass* two Months before, desir'd the Master and his Apprentice to come into his Closet, where he ask'd the Youth, what Reasons could induce him to leave so good a Church? After much Importunity he said, that Mr. *Pulton*, Rector of the *Jesuits* School in the *Savoy*, had persuaded him by his Arguments; and being further ask'd, what those Arguments were? He answered, Mr. *Pulton* had shew'd him in *Luther's* Works, that *Luther* held sometimes three: and sometimes seven Sacraments; and added, that *Luther* was dissuaded from going to *Mass* by the Devil; and that ever since the Pretended Reformed had proceeded upon the Word of the Devil. The Doctor shew'd him how frivolous that Story and Argument was; and told him that he believ'd Mr. *Pulton* would not justify this way of reasoning before him. The Boy had been somper'd with, that that very Day he had been with the Doctor, he had the Confidence to turn upon him the Story about *Luther* and the Devil, which was told by the *Jesuit*. His Master carried the Boy to Dr. *Horneck*, still hoping to work Good upon him; but his Perverseness was so apparent to the Doctor, notwithstanding all the things of Moment he could say, that he perceiv'd him past present Cure. Great Boast was made in the Neigh-

The *Jesuits* School in the *Savoy*, May the 25th, 1687.

Dr. *Tennison's* Conference with Mr. *Pulton*, a *Jesuit*.

September 29th, 1687.

Neighbourhood about Mr. *Pulton*, and Wagers offer'd by the Papists; that Dr. *Tennison* would not engage in a free Dispute with him; tho' there was little Reason for that boasting, the Doctor having already in vain expected the coming of two Priests at a Place and Time appointed. That Doctor knew indeed that Conferences of this Nature seldom produce any other Effect, than to furnish such People as are either already seduc'd, or inclin'd to be so, with a Pretence of saying, *That upon what they heard they were converted*; yet being made sensible by a Friend, that if Mr. *Pulton* was not met, the *Romanists* would give it out, that no Protestant was able to confute him, it was agreed on all sides that there should be a \* Meeting. \* Sept. 29. 1687.

The main Point which the Jesuit propos'd to be debated, was, *The Rule of Faith*; but the Inconsistence of *Luther* about the Sacraments, and his pretended Colloquy with the Devil, being that on which the Boy's Conversion was grounded, the Doctor thought fit to clear that Matter first; and said to Mr. *Pulton*, that the Protestant Church depended not upon *Luther*, but Christ; that *Luther* was indeed an excellent Instrument of God, but had his Failings like other Men, as was sufficiently prov'd in a Book lately publish'd at *Oxford*, entituled, *The Spirit of Martin Luther*; that if *Luther* had said any where, there were Three Sacraments, he had said no more than *Paschasius Radbertus*, who was the Inventor of Transubstantiation; that admitting the Story, *Luther* after the Monkish way had put the Spiritual Conflict into the Form of a Colloquy; and that he might well suspect a Device in the Devil when he dissuaded him from the Mass; for the Devil might think the Piety of *Luther* would be apt to move him for that Reason to go the rather to Mass, because he had forbidden him. He added, that one of the first Dissuatives from the Mass, which made Impression upon *Luther*, was that having been at *Rome*, and said Mass there, and heard it said, He took Notice of the Prophaneness of the Mass-Priests, and overheard the very Courtezans jeeringly saying, that



1687. some who consecrated, had us'd these Words, *Bread thou art, Bread thou shalt be: Wine thou art, Wine thou shalt be.* To all this the Jesuit having nothing to reply, with great Noise and Assurance ask'd the Doctor, *What was the Rule of Faith? Where the Protestants had their Bible? Who gave them the Copies? How? Where? When?* And the like. The Doctor answer'd, that the Rule of Faith is the Holy Bible; that the Sum of it, in necessary Doctrines, is the Apostolical Creed; that if the *Romanists* had any good Proof of the Bible, the *Protestants* had it too; that the first External Inducement for the receiving of the Bible, as Written by such and such Persons, and as such a Book, was, not so much the Authority, as the Testimony of the Universal Church of all Ages, all agreeing in it, and amongst others the *Roman*, excepting the Apocryphal Books of later Time, rais'd by them to a Level with the primary Canon, whilst the Protestants had the same Canon the ancient Church own'd in the Council of *Laodicea*; That the Protestants took in the Testimony of *Heathens*, as of *Julian* the Apostate, who own'd three of the Evangelists; and of the *Jews*, who had once the Oracles committed to them, and from whom the first Christians receiv'd the Canon of the Old Testament, and might believe Men sincere when they spoke against themselves; That by this way of Universal Consent, we were as sure of this Book's being the Bible, as of *Cicero's* Offices being his Book; and that for the Holy Bible, when Men came to consider the Prophecies and their Events, the Characters and History of Christ, and Things in those Books, most worthy of the Supreme Being, and use Pious Means in Humility of Soul, they had further Assurance begotten in them. The Jesuit insisting upon these Passages of Scripture, *Thou art Peter, and upon thee will I build my Church; bear the Church, &c.* that a Church at Rome was spoken of by *St. Paul*, &c. the Doctor took up the Bible, and made three or four Offers to prove how those Passages were misapply'd; but Mr. *Pulton* turn'd all off by general Discourse about the Bible and Rule of Faith,

Faith; and said, that the *Greeks*, whom the Doctor had mention'd, were all Liars; being Hereticks; and that the *Roman* Catholicks were said by them to be a Corrupt Church; and that therefore the Protestants depended upon *Liars* for their Bible. The Doctor answer'd, that the *Greeks* were not all Liars and Hereticks; that Father *Simon*, a learned *Romanist*, in his Book call'd, *Histoire Critique de la Créance des Nations du Levant*, publish'd Three Years before, had shew'd how the Millionaries had slander'd and misrepresented the *Greek* Church, and made those Hereticks who were not so, and rais'd a Dispute about Words when they agreed in Meaning; That when every Body in all Ages has conspir'd in a Testimony concerning Books, or such Cities as *Rome*, or *Jerusalem*; though some might be ill Men, and in some Particulars Liars; yet we could not believe them such in their Universal Consent; because they could never be in a Confederacy to vent such a Lie: Lastly, that though the Protestants took, in part, the Testimony of the *Roman* Church, yet from her Authority the Scriptures could not be prov'd, because she went about to prove her Being from out of the Scriptures, and therefore could not do it, till it was first prov'd, that the Scriptures were the Word of God, and the Places cited were Infallibly prov'd to carry that Sense which the *Romanists* put upon them. After this; the *Jesuit* with that Heat and Turbulency which are Natural to those that maintain a bad Cause, said, that the Church was a City on a Hill; and always Visible; and ask'd, where such a Church as the Protestant was Visible in all Ages? The Doctor learnedly reply'd, that it suffices the People that they have heard Christ's Promise, that there shall be a Society of Men professing Christianity to the end of the World; That they believe Christ will make good his Word, and that they find among the Protestants such Doctrine and Rules of Life, as are in the Scriptures; That the *Greeks* have always had Churches; that among the *Latins* we have Catalogues of Witnesses against *Romish* Errors; that a true Church may, (though not as such) have

1687. many Corruptions; and that the present Corruptions in the *Roman Church* were not formerly made Articles of Faith; That we had the true Faith before any Mission came from *Rome*; That St. *Gregory's* Faith was not that which *Rome* now teaches; That here the Synods of the Second of *Nice* and *Trent* could not prevail; That a Doctrine contrary to *Transubstantiation* had been Taught in the *Saxon Church*. This Debate about the Rule of Faith, and the Visibility of the Church, having lasted upwards of two Hours, and the Jesuit having nothing more to suggest, he introduc'd a Discourse about *Transubstantiation*, and the real Presence; in this Controversie Mr. *Pulton* discover'd his Ignorance of History and Chronology, and how unacquainted he was with Ecclesiastical Writers; and though he made a shift to maintain a noisie, rambling Fight, by the help of shifting Cavils, gross Anachronisms, and Quotations of spurious Authors, particularly of St. *Jerome* of the *Sacraments*; the Third Epistle of St. *Anacletus*, Canon 39. Arab. of the first Council of *Nice*; St. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem* against *Ruffinus*, &c. yet both he, and the Priests that supported him, were at last forc'd to yield to the invincible Proofs and Arguments of one single learned Protestant Divine. The Doctor would make no other Advantage of his Victory, than to tell Mr. *Pulton*, that though he had in a printed Paper promis'd not to tamper about Religion with the Protestant Boys who should come to the *Savoy-School*, yet it appear'd that he had tamper'd with those out of his Care, and would do so much more with such as were under it; for it being his Principle, that all out of his Communion were Damn'd; as a Jesuit and a Papist, he must break his Word for the necessary Good, as he thought, of the Souls of those Boys. The Jesuit and his Assistants were so nettled by this home Expostulation, that being at a loss how to answer it, they said aloud, *It reflected upon the King*; alledging, that the King, as a *Roman Catholick*, was also bound to break his Word given to his People, of not forcing their Con-

Consciences ; but many of the Hearers, provoked **with** Indignation, cry'd out against them, and **said** it was a *knave's Trick*. The Doctor likewise justly incens'd by their unfair Proceeding, told one *Meredith*, a new Convert, who had first rais'd the Accusation, that for his own part he thought his Loyalty to be more valuable than his, because as a Son of the Church of *England* he had profess'd he would not rebel against the King, notwithstanding he might be of another Religion ; whereas *Meredith* being of the same Religion, could not so well separate Loyalty from Interest. Thereupon the Jesuits abruptly broke up the Conference, muttering ensnaring Words about Persecution, the Queen of *Scots*, the Bill of Exclusion, and the *Penal Laws*, to which last Point the Doctor replied, That he pity'd People of differing Assemblies, but that for such as his Order \*, who had taught excluding \* *Suarez*, and deposing Doctrines, and brought in a foreign *Mariana*, Jurisdiction, it seem'd fit to keep up some Laws &c. against them. 'Twas not without Reason that the Doctor apprehended the old Trick of making a Conversion of one chang'd already, to turn upon a verbal Conference ; for soon after, the before-mentioned Boy being ask'd by a *Romanist*, *If he was now satisfied in the Religion he was brought up in?* He answer'd, *Not* : But it appear'd by his Carriage before Dr. *Tennison*, and Dr. *Horneck*, that he was already taught how to fence in this Matter ; which was further evidenc'd by a Letter he wrote to his Father Nine Days before the Conference, wherein he gives an Account of those Motives which oblig'd him in Conscience to betake himself to the Church of *Rome*. These Motives, or rather Suggestions of the crafty Jesuits, were these : *That the Roman Catholick Church was allow'd to have been once the true Church built upon the Rock, against which our Saviour promis'd Hell should never prevail ; whence, unless we will give our Saviour the Lie, she is still so ; That the Church had Power, during the Four first Centuries, to decide all Controversies about Religion, and they were reputed Hereticks who obey'd not her Decision ; which Power she must still*

1687. retain; That those of that Church are all of one Faith in all Countries: Whereas the Reformed Churches all clash among themselves, and divide and sub-divide without end; That it is the Catholick Church alone which is taught in all Countries, and that God has seconded the Labour of her Missionaries with manifest Miracles: That among them abundance of noble and rich People follow the Evangelical Counsels, and leave all for God's sake; and that they built and founded all these Monuments of Devotion and Churches we see now extant; whereas the Reformed Religions have only serv'd to pull them down, and were founded on the Leachery of Henry VIII. the Ambition of the Tutor of King Edward VI. and Violence of Queen Elizabeth, and only preserv'd by the Rigour of Penal Laws, and spilling the Blood of those who for a Thousand Years had profess'd the Catholick Faith. Notwithstanding their Defeat, the Jesuits had the Assurance to boast, both in private Conversations, and in their Pulpits, that the Advantage was on their side; nay, some of their Emissaries spread it all about the City, and afterwards all England over, that One Jesuit had silenc'd Five Protestant Ministers, to wit, Dr. Tenison, the Deans of Peterborough and Windsor, Dr. Horneck and Mr. Wake; but the first of these Reverend Divines soon undeceiv'd the World, by publishing an Account of the Conference, of which I have given the Reader the foregoing Abstract, to let him into the bold Designs and intinuating Practices of the Jesuits, in order to subvert the establish'd Religion of these Realms.

French  
Protestants  
reliev'd.

At the same time that King James advanc'd Popery, it cannot be denied but that his Generosity extended, in a particular manner, to the distress'd Protestants who had lately fled from France upon account of Religion; for he not only granted them Briefs, but gave 'em also large Sums out of his Privy Purse, to excite the Charity of his Subjects by his Royal Example. Nevertheless, those Briefs had not all the good Effect which was intended by His Majesty: Many People refusing to contribute towards those charitable Collections,

ons, upon an ill-grounded Suspicion that they were design'd by the Court for the Maintainance of *French* Papists that were invited over to serve the King's Designs. Others endeavour'd to lessen King *James's* Bounty, by saying it was but a Piece of Policy, in order to curry Favour with his own Protestant Subjects. All that an Historian can say in this Matter is, that where the Benefit is real, 'tis a kind of Ingratitude too nicely to enquire into the Motive of it.

Some of the *French* Refugees had a better Sense of the King's Favours. For Monsieur *Daillon*, one of their Ministers, to compliment the Court upon their beloved Project of *Liberty of Conscience*, solicited a *Patent* for the erecting a Nonconforming and Independant *French* Church in *Soho-Fields*, which was readily granted: And from hence it is that the *French* call that Meeting-House *La Patente*, to this very Day.

The Ministers of the *French* Church in the *Savoy* were not wanting in expressing their Gratitude to His Majesty; but yet they did it with more Reserve and Circumspection, as appear'd upon the following Occasion: The *Jesuits* ever since their Settlement in the *Savoy*, had a Design upon the *French* Chappel there, and Mr. *Pulton*, their Rector or Principal, tamper'd with Dr. *Dubourdien*, in order to engage him to resign that Church, promising him, as from the King, to build them another on any Ground they should think most convenient between *White-Hall* and *Temple-Bar*, with a large Sum of Money into the Bargain. Monsieur *Dubourdien* made Answer, That being but one, he desir'd Time to communicate his Proposal to the other Ministers, and Church-Wardens of the *Savoy*. These being met upon this critical Affair, it was agreed, That before they should give the *Jesuits* a positive Answer, they should consult with such Lords who were most conspicuous for their Wisdom, and their Affection to the Protestant Interest. Accordingly Mr. *Dubourdien* waited upon the Lords *Hallifax*, *Danby*, *Nottingham*, and some few others,

1687. *thers, who all, as it were by Consent, advis'd 'em after this manner: Never hearken to any Terms with the Jesuits; let them pursue their violent Measures; suffer your selves to be thrust out of your Church; for by that Means you'll do your own Business and the Nation's.*

*Proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners against the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge.*

The Thunderbolts of the Ecclesiastical Commission fell next on both the Universities, and first of all upon Dr. Peachel, the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, for refusing to admit one Alban Francis, a Benedictine Monk, to the Degree of Master of Arts, without taking the Oaths, according to the King's Mandate, wherein His Majesty dispens'd with Francis for not having that necessary Qualification. This Mandate being read in the Consistory, it was unanimously agreed, That they could not admit the Monk to a Degree, without taking the usual Oaths, unless they broke their own; and thereupon appointed Two of their Body to wait upon His Majesty, and acquaint him how ready they were to obey all his Commands, where their Compliance did not clash with their Consciences; humbly hoping His Majesty would not force them to *Wilful Perjury*; of which, by the Statutes of the University, they must be guilty, if they should admit *Alban Francis* thus unqualify'd to that Degree. When the Two Fellows came to London, they first made their Application to the Duke of *Albemarle*, their Chancellor, who us'd his Interest to serve them, tho' to little Purpose; for at length they receiv'd this Answer from the Secretary of State, *That His Majesty had seen the Vice-Chancellor's Letter, was offended at the Proceedings of the University, and would take Order shortly to give them a further Answer.* What this Answer was appear'd in a little time, for *Atterbury* the Messenger came to Cambridge, to summon the Vice-Chancellor to appear before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and answer to such things as should be objected against him, on His Majesties Behalf. The Vice-Chancellor, and Eight more of that Body, appear'd, and put in their Answer in writing in the Name of the University; alledging Three Acts of Parliament



ment in their Justification, with many unanswerable Arguments against the Illegality of this new Court ; which being read, the Court took some time to consider on the Matter, and adjourn'd till *Saturday* the 7th of *May*, 1687. That Day being come, and the Vice-Chancellor and Delegates appearing, after some trifling Questions propounded by Chancellor *Jefferies*, they were commanded to withdraw ; and being call'd in again, *Jefferies* told the Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, That he being guilty of great Disobedience to the King's Commands, and other Crimes and Contempts, the Court had sentenced him, *To be deprived of his Office of Vice-Chancellor, and suspended him ab Officio & Beneficio of his Headship of Magdalen-Colledge, and that he should not presume to meddle in any publick Business relating to the University.*

1687.

The Storm which soon after broke out upon the whole Colledge of *St. Mary Magdalen* in *Oxford*, as it was a longer time a-gathering, so it proved more furious and dismal in its Effects. And because the boldest Strokes of that Arbitrary Spirit, by which King *James's* Councils were animated, were seen in a particular manner through the Course of this Affair, a full Relation of the whole cannot be thought foreign to this History. *St. Mary Magdalen* Colledge is one of the noblest Foundations that, perhaps, was ever erected for Learning in the World, and therefore 'twas no wonder the *Popish* Clergy look'd with an envious and greedy Eye upon this rich Prize, and made their utmost Efforts to snatch it from the Hands of those they call'd Hereticks. This illustrious Society, from repeated Grants of Kings, confirm'd by several Acts of Parliament, and from their own Statutes, were in an uninterrupted, as well as uncontested, Possession of a Right to elect their own President. That Place being vacant, by the Death of *Dr. Clark*, the Vice-President, *Dr. Aldworth*, gave notice to all the Fellows present in the\* Chapel, to proceed to the Election of another on the 13th of *April* following, to fill up the Vacancy. But before the Day of Election, being inform'd that

*Proceedings against St. Mary Magdalen Colledge in Oxon.*

\* March 31. 1687.

**1687.** that his Majesty had granted his Letters Mandatory, in Behalf of Mr. *Anthony Farmer*, a Man of an ill Reputation, who had promis'd to declare himself a Papist, They most humbly represented to His Majesty in their Petition, *That the said Mr. Farmer was a Person in several Respects unsuitable of that Character, according to their Founder's Statutes; and did most earnestly beseech His Majesty, either to leave them to the Discharge of their Duty and Consciences, according to His Majesties late most gracious Toleration, and their Founder's Statutes, or to recommend such a Person, who might be more serviceable to His Majesty, and to this Colledge.* The Petition was delivered to the Earl of *S----*, President of the Council, by Dr. *Tho. Smith*, and Capt. *Bagshaw*†; and lay Four Days in his Lordship's Hands. with a Promise of his Favour; but at last his Answer was, *That the King must be obeyed.* On Monday, April 11. His Majesties Mandate was deliver'd by Mr. *Robert Charnock*\*, Master of Arts, Fellow of the said Colledge, a new Convert, and a Man wholly devoted to the Court, directed to the Vice-President and Fellows, requiring them forthwith to elect the said Mr. *Farmer*, and admit him President. This Mandate the Vice-President read, with decent Respect, in the Chappel of the Colledge, before the Fellows there present, and ask'd them whether they, in Obedience to His Majesties Letters, would forthwith elect Mr. *Farmer* President? They all agreed to defer their

† April 9.

\* Since executed for the Plot to murder King William III.

\* April 13.

Answers till \* *Wednesday* following. All the Fellows being then met, the Vice-President read the Statute concerning the Choice of a President, and another against corrupt and irregular Elections; then he read the King's Letter in Behalf of Mr. *Farmer*, and a second time demanded their Answer, which was to this Effect; *That having a Petition lying at that time before His Majesty, they ought not to proceed to Election, till they had receiv'd His Majesty's Answer to the same.* And thereupon they all agreed; except Mr. *Charnock*, that the Election should be deferred till the next Day. On *Thursday*† in the Morning the Vice-President told them, *That the Choice of*

† April 14.

President had been put off upon Account of their Petition to His Majesty, in answer to which they had not then receiv'd His Majesties Pleasure; that the next Day was the utmost time they had Power to prorogue the Election to by the Statutes, and therefore it was necessary they should come to some Resolution: He told them further, That the King had commanded them to elect *Mr. Farmer*, and ask'd their Sense therein, which was unanimous (except *Mr. Charnock*) that the Election should be deferr'd till the next Morning. Accordingly, *Friday, April the 15th*, at Eight a Clock in the Morning, the Vice-President and Fellows being met, *Dr. Tho. Smith*, and *Capt. Bayshaw*, Two of the Fellows, acquainted the rest, from the Lord President of the Council, that in Answer to their Petition, *His Majesty having sent his Letter to the Colledge, expected to be obey'd*. After which the Vice-President read again the King's Mandate, and ask'd them whether they would comply with it? They desir'd they might proceed to an Election: And the Vice-President having propos'd, whether they would make any further Address to His Majesty? The Vice-President, *Dr. Fairfax*, *Dr. Pudsey*, and *Dr. Tho. Smith*, were for a second Address, but all the rest declar'd immediately for proceeding to an Election. Then the Vice-President propos'd whether they would go to an Election *Viva voce*, or by *Scrutiny*? The Vice-President, *Mr. Thompson*, and *Mr. Charnock*, were for proceeding in it *Viva voce*, but all the rest were for a Scrutiny, except *Dr. Tho. Smith*, who was for deferring the Election till they had once more petition'd the King. Therefore it being the Sense of the Majority, that they ought to proceed to the Election of a President, according to the Statutes, and this the last Day limited; in order to it, the Holy Sacrament was solemnly taken by all, except *Charnock*; then the Statutes relating to the Choice of a President, and against corrupt Election, were read by the Vice-President. Every one took the Oath prescrib'd in the Statutes, except *Mr. Thompson* and *Mr. Charnock*, who refus'd it, and the two Senior Fellows

1687. lows were sworn Scrutators in the Scrutiny of the whole Society. For the Nomination of a President, Dr. *Hough* and Mr. *Maynard* had each of them the major part of the Voices; and then the Thirteen Senior Fellows being met to Elect one of these Two, Dr. *Hough* \* had Eleven Voices, and was accordingly pronounc'd President by the Senior Scrutator; and Mr. *Maynard* was appointed by the 13 Senior Fellows to present him as President Elect to the Visitor, in order to his Admission. After this Mr. *Charnock* and Mr. *Thompson* declar'd *Viva voce* for Mr. *Farmer*, according to His Majesties Letter. The next Day † Dr. *Hough* being presented to the Visitor, was sworn and admitted President by his Lordship, according to the Statutes; and on the *Sunday* \* next following he took the same Oath again before the Society, and afterwards, as President, took his Seat in the Chappel. The King being inform'd of it, order'd the Lord *Sunderland* to write to the Fellows, which he did in the following Terms: *Gentlemen, The King being inform'd, that notwithstanding his late Mandate, sent to you for electing Mr. Farmer to be President of your Colledge, you have made Choice of another Person; His Majesty commands me to let you know, he is much surpriz'd at these Proceedings, and expects you should send me an Account of what past on that Occasion, and whether you did receive His Majesties said Mandate before you chose Dr. Hough.* Thereupon the Vice-President and Fellows drew up their Case relating to their late Election of a President, which was presented \* to the Duke of *Ormond*, Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, with a Letter, wherein they humbly begg'd his Grace to interpose with his most sacred Majesty for them, that they might not lye under the Weight of his Displeasure, for not being in a Capacity of obeying his Commands. This Submission not being satisfactory, and the Duke of *Ormond*'s Interposition little regarded, the Vice-President and Fellows were cited † to appear before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners at *White-Hall* \*. On *June* the 6th, the Vice-President, and Dr. *Fairfax*, Dr. *J. Smith*, Mr. *Hammond*,

\* Now Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry.

† April 16.

\* April 17.

\* April 21.

† May 28.

\* June 6.

1687.

mond, Mr. Dobson, and Mr. Fairer, deputed Fellows, appear'd before the Lords Commissioners, according to the above-mention'd Citation. And it being demanded of them, *Why they refus'd to obey the King's Mandate?* They desir'd time to consider of it, which was granted to the 13th, at which time appearing, the Vice-President deliver'd in their Answer, which was read by Mr. Bridgeman, and wherein they alledged; *That the Colledge of St. Mary Magdalen in Oxon is a Body Corporate, govern'd by Local Statutes, granted and confirm'd to them by His Majesties Predecessors; That by the said Statutes of the Colledge, to the Observation of which each Fellow is sworn, it is ordered, That the Person elected President thereof shall be a Man of good Life and Reputation, of approv'd Understanding, and good Temper, Discreet, Provident, and Circumspect, both in Spiritual and Temporal Affairs; That at the time of Election of a President, the said Fellows are bound by the said Statutes to take an Oath that they shall nominate none to that Office but such as are or have been Fellows of the said Colledge, or of New-Colledge in Oxon; or if they are not actually Fellows at the time of Election, that they be such as have left their Fellowships in their respective Colledges upon credible Accounts: And when two qualified Persons shall be nominated at the time of Election, by the greater number of all the Fellows, to the said Office of President; the Thirteen Seniors also swear, That they will elect one of them, whom in their Consciences they think most proper and sufficient, most discreet, most useful, and best qualified for the Place, without any Regard to Love, Hatred, Favour or Fear. That every Fellow when he is admitted into his Fellowship in the said Colledge, swears that he will inviolably keep and observe all the Statutes and Ordinances of the Colledge; and that he will not procure any Dispensation, contrary to his aforesaid Oath, or any part thereof, nor contrary to the Statutes and Ordinances to which it relates; and if it shall happen that any Dispensation of this sort, of whatsoever Authority it shall be, be granted, that he will neither make use of it, nor in any sort*  
con-

1687.

*consent thereunto. That on the 11th of April they receiv'd His Majesties Letters Mandatory to elect and admit Mr. Anthony Farmer President of the said Colledge; But forasmuch as the Vice-President and Fellows apprehended the Right of Election to be in them, and believ'd His Majesty never intended to dispossess them of their Rights, and forasmuch as the said Mr. Farmer had never been Fellow either of Magdalen or New-Colledge in Oxon, and had not those Qualifications which by the said Statutes of the Colledge are requir'd in the Character of a President; and in regard that they could not comply with His Majesties Letter, without the Violation of their Oaths, and Hazard of their Legal Interest and Property, wherewith they were by their Statutes possess'd, and which by their Oaths they are bound to maintain, They represented the same by their humble Petition to His Majesty, and that having deferr'd their Election to the last Day limited by their Statutes, then they had made Choice of the Reverend Mr. John Hough, B. D. one of the Fellows of their Colledge, and a Person every way qualified to be President; who had been since confirm'd by the Bishop of Winton, their Visitor, as the Statutes of the said Colledge direct: And that they might not lye under His Majesties Displeasure by their Proceedings, they did make an humble Representation thereof to His Majesty, by his Grace the Duke of Ormond, Chancellor of the University of Oxon, setting forth their indispensable Obligations to observe their Founders Statutes. All which Matters they humbly offer'd to their Lordships, and pray'd to be dismiss'd with their Lordships Favour.*

*\*Now Dean  
of Nor-  
wich.*

*This Answer was sign'd but by Five of the Delegates, Dr. Fairfax \* not consenting to it; and therefore he desir'd their Lordships to hear him apart, and take his Reasons why he could not subscribe. After the reading of the Answer, the Lord Chancellor Jefferies being in hopes he would submit, gave him Leave to speak, saying; Ay, this looks like a Man of Sence, and a good Subject, let's hear what he will say; ---- But finding his Mistake, and that Dr. Fairfax chiefly insisted, That in Ecclesiastical Courts there should be a Libel  
given*

1687.

given to the Party appeal'd, that he may know what he is accus'd of; that he desir'd that Libel, and did not know what he was call'd there for; and that the Matter did not lye in that Court, but in Westminster-Hall; the Chancellor endeavour'd to baffle his Plea, by telling him, He was a Doctor of Divinity, but not of Law. To this the Doctor reply'd, That he desir'd to know by what Commission and Authority they sat? Which put Jefferies into such excessive Passion, as made him cry out; Pray what Commission have you to be so impudent in Court? This Man ought to be kept in a dark Room; why do you suffer him without a Guardian? Why did you not bring him to me to beg him? Pray let the Officers seize him----Then the Delegates were order'd to withdraw, and after a whole Hours Debate, the Vice-President was call'd in alone, and order'd to attend the Court with the rest of the deputed Fellows, on Wednesday the 22d of the same Month. On the appointed Day the Delegates appear'd again, according to the Commissioners Order, and gave in their Allegations against Mr. Farmer; the most material of which were: That he had misbehav'd himself in Trinity-Colledge in Cambridge, and had there receiv'd Admonition from the Master, in order to his Expulsion; That having left Cambridge, he taught School at Chippenham in Wiltshire, under a Nonconformist Minister without License; That in September 1683. he was admitted of St. Mary Magdalen-Hall in Oxon, where such frequent Complaints were brought against him to the Principal, for his troublesome Humour and unquiet Temper; that to preserve the Peace of the Society he was desir'd to leave the said Hall; That after his leaving Magdalen-Hall he was admitted into Magdalen-Colledge, where discoursing about Religion, he declar'd, That there was no Protestant but would cut the King's Throat; tho' at other times he said, That whatsoever he pretended, he was really a Member of the Church of England; and that he made an Interest with some Roman Catholicks only to get Preferment by their Means, and for that Reason was willing to be thought of their Religion; and that in general the  
said



1687. *said Mr. Farmer had had the Unhappiness to lye under an ill Fame, as to his Life and Conversation.* These Allegations were confirm'd by several Letters and Certificates produc'd in Court, which Mr. *Farmer* vainly endeavour'd to confute; But  
 † June 22. nevertheless the Ecclesiastical Commissioners † deprived Dr. *Hough* of his Presidentship, and suspended Dr. *Aldworth* and Dr. *Fairfax*, and order'd the Fellows of the Colledge to cause their Sentence to be executed, and affixed to the Gates of their Colledge; which they neglecting to do, they were cited to appear before the Commissioners at *White-Hall* upon the 29th of *June*, to answer the said Contempt.

The Court by this time finding that *Farmer* was a Man of so profligate a Life, that tho' he had promis'd to advance the Interest of the Papists, and even to declare himself one of them, upon his Promotion to that Place, yet they began to be ashamed of him; and therefore instead of insisting on the former Mandate in his Favour, the King  
 † Aug. 14. granted another †, in Behalf of Dr. *Parker*, then Bishop of *Oxford*, and one of the Court Creatures. The Place of President being already in a legal manner fill'd up by Dr. *Hough*, (which tho' it had not been, yet the Bishop of *Oxford* was likewise incapable, by the Statutes of the Colledge, of being chosen,) the Fellows did not think themselves oblig'd to proceed to a second Election. The King was so incens'd at this fresh Contempt of his Orders, that he came to *Oxford* in Person\*, and having commanded the Fellows of *Magdalen-Colledge* to attend him at *Christ-Church*, he ask'd Dr. *Pudsey*, the Senior of the Fellows that appear'd before him, *Whether they did receive his Letter?* When the Doctor answering, *They did*; the King in an angry Tone reply'd, *Then you have done very uncivilly by me, and undutifully*-----Here they all kneel'd, and Dr. *Pudsey* offer'd a Petition, wherein they humbly shew'd, *it was an unexpressible Affliction to them, to find themselves reduc'd to such an Extremity, that either they must disobey His Majesties Command, contrary to their Inclinations, and that constant*

stant Course of Loyalty, which they had shew'd upon all Occasions, or else break their Founder's Statutes, and deliberately perjure themselves. Then they mention'd the Statutes, and the Oaths, that every one of them had taken at their Admission to their Fellowships, and concluded with an humble Prayer to His Majesty, To give them Leave to lay their Case and themselves at His Majesties Feet, earnestly beseeching him to extend to them that Grace and Tenderneſs which he vouchsafed to all his other Subjects. But their submissive Posture did not appeale the King, who refusing to receive their Petition, vented his Resentment in these passionate Words: *Ye have been a stubborn, turbulent Colledge; I have known you to be so these Six and Twenty Years: You have affronted me in this—Is this your Church of England Loyalty? One would wonder to find so many Church of England-Men in such a Business. Go home and shew your selves good Members of the Church of England—Get you gone—Know I am your King—I will be obey'd; and I command you to be gone. Go and admit the Bishop of Oxon Head, Principal, what d'ye call it? of your Colledge; (one that stood by said, President) I mean President of the Colledge. Let them that refuse it look to it; they shall feel the Weight of their Sovereign's Displeasure. The Fellows offering again their Petition on their Knees, the King told them: Get you gone, I will receive nothing from you, till you have obey'd me, and admitted the Bishop of Oxon. Thereupon they went immediately to their Chappel, and Dr. Pudsey propoling, Whether they would obey the King? They answer'd, They were as ready to obey His Majesty in all things that lay in their Power, as any of the rest of his Subjects; but the electing the Bishop of Oxon, being directly contrary to their Statutes, and the positive Oaths they had taken, they could not apprehend it in their Power to obey him in this Matter.*

Whereupon they drew up an Address, expressing in most submissive Terms the said Resolutions, which they gave \* to the Lord Sunderland; \* Sept. 8. President of the Council, and which was after-wards

1687.



William  
Penn's Let-  
ter to Dr.  
Baily, a  
Fellow of  
Magdalen-  
Colledge.

wards deliver'd to His Majesty at Bath. Where-ever His Majesty came, he work'd a miraculous Conversion, (as his Flatterers express'd it) except in Oxford; and therefore this being the only Opposition he receiv'd in his Progress, it could not but provoke a Monarch, who expected to be obey'd in every thing. Yet before he made *Magdalen-Colledge* feel the Weight of his Displeasure, *William Penn*, the Head of the *Quakers*, or as some then thought, an ambitious, crafty *Jesuit*, who under a phanatical Outside promoted King *James's* Designs, was industriously employ'd: Not to *trapan* them (as he pretended in his Letter to Dr. Baily, one of the Fellows) but out of a passionate Concern for their Interest, to persuade 'em either to a Compliance with His Majesties Letter, or to think among themselves of some Expedient, to prevent the Ruin of their Colledge and themselves; and to offer it to His Majesties Consideration, that the Order for the Quo Warranto against the Colledges might be recall'd, before it was too late; for they could not but be sensible how highly His Majesty was incens'd against them. Every *Mechanick*, (adds Penn) knows the Temper of his present Majesty, who never will receive a Baffle in any thing that he heartily espouses; and that he does this, your selves have had too late and manifest an Instance to doubt of his Zeal in the Affair. Where there are so many Statutes to be observ'd, 'tis impossible but some must be broken at one time or other; and I am inform'd by the Learned in the Law, that a Failure in any one Point forfeits your Grant, and lays your Colledge open to the Royal Displeasure. I could (says he in the Conclusion) give many other prudent Arguments that might possibly encline you to put an end to your Troubles almost at any rate; but I shall only suggest this one thing to you; That your fatal Overthrow would be a fair Beginning of the so much aim'd at Reformation, first of the University, then of the Church, and administer such an Opportunity to the Enemy, as may not perhaps occur in His Majesties Reign. To this Letter the Colledge return'd an Answer, wherein amongst other things they declare: They are not conscious of ever having given His Majesty any just Offence, and there-

therefore have no Reason to fear the issuing out of a Quo Warranto against them; and as for the rest, they believe no Instance can be given of a Quo Warranto, brought against a Colledge or Hall in the Universities, or any other Ecclesiastical Corporation, for the Abuses of some of the Constitutions and Franchises in them; That the Misdemeanors of particular Persons will not destroy a Colledge; and that if the Corporation of a Colledge should be dissolv'd, the Revenues thereof will return to the Founder's Heirs, and not devolve to the Crown. That if their Colledge must be the first Example of that kind, they shall be better justified by the Observation of their Statutes, at least to God and their own Consciences, than they could have been by a voluntary and deliberate Breach of them. They conclude with mentioning their Loyalty to the Crown, particularly in Monmouth's Rebellion, when they rais'd a Company at their own Charges, and under the Command of their Fellows engag'd against him. Several other Persons used their Endeavours to bring the Fellows to a Compliance, which proving still ineffectual, they were cited \* before the \* Oct. 19.

f Oct. 21.

Bishop of  
Chester's  
Speech:

1687. *ring the Church of England, which is, at present, the Religion by Law establish'd; for His Majesty will maintain that Altar, at which he himself does not worship; but at present we are in more Danger of Prophaneness than Popery. He told them, That their Corporation, as others, was a Creature of the Crown; and that it was Insolence in their local Statutes to spurn against their Maker; That their Dissenters had brought this Visitation upon them, the Consequences of which might be ill to the Church and Universities; He exhorted them by the Bowels of Christ to consider these Things; He told them, That the Eyes of the World were upon them, and they ought to take care, that their Practices might not influence their deluded Admirers. In short, the whole Design of this Speech seem'd by Promises and Threats to aim at the inducing them to comply. In the Afternoon the Commissioners being sat, the Bishop of Chester ask'd Dr. Hough whether they would submit to this Visitation? To which the Doctor answer'd in the Name of himself, and the greater part of the Fellows, that they submitted to it, as far as it was consistent with the Laws of the Land, and the Statutes of the Colledge, and no further; and desir'd their Lordships that this Declaration might be recorded. The next Question the Bishop put to him was, whether they observ'd all those Statutes? And the President answering, He hop'd they did: You have a Statute there for Mass, reply'd he, why don't you read Mass? This Question from a Bishop was a little surprizing, but the President soon satisfied it, by telling him, That the Matter of that Oath was unlawful, and in such a case no Man was obliged to observe an Oath; and besides, that that Statute was taken away by the Laws of the Land. After several other frivolous Expostulations, the Bishop of Chester demanded, First, All their Registers. Secondly, The Revenues of their Colledge, with an Account of their Benefactors, to what use the Money was assign'd, how employ'd, and how far converted to other Uses, or in plain English, how far 'twas design'd for Hospitality. And Thirdly, A Copy of all the Leases they*

they had let for Two Years last past. On Saturday Morning \* Dr. Hough was several times required to deliver up the Keys and quiet Possession of the \* Oct. 22. Lodgings, to the Person whom His Majesty had appointed President; which the Doctor refusing to obey, alledging the Legality of his Election, the King's Proctor stood up, and accus'd him of Contumacy; and then the Bishop of Chester admonish'd him Three times, To depart peaceably out of the Lodgings, and to act no longer as President, or pretended President of his Colledge. The same Day, in the Afternoon, the Bishop of Chester ask'd the Fellows, Whether they would admit the Bishop of Oxon. President, since Dr. Hough's Place was declared void? To which the greater Part answer'd, They could not do it without premeditated Perjury, and therefore would not do it. During this Examination Dr. Hough came into Court, without any Attendance, and having waited till it was ended, and the Commissioners at a Pause, he desir'd Leave to speak a few Words; which being granted, he said, That they having been pleas'd to deprive him of his Place of President of that Colledge, he did protest against all their Proceedings, in Prejudice of him and his Right, as illegal, unjust and null; and therefore he appeal'd to his Sovereign Lord the King in his Courts of Justice. Upon which the Strangers and young Scholars in the Room gave a Hum, which so incens'd their Lordships, that notwithstanding all the Protestations the President and Fellows could make, the President in particular offering to purge himself by Oath, that he was no ways accessary to it, yet the Lord chief Justice was not to be pacified, but charging it upon Dr. Hough, bound him in a Bond of 1000 l. and Security to the like value, to make his Appearance at the King's-Bench Bar the Term following. Moreover, the Lord Chief Justice said they had met with nothing but Affronts from the Colledge: That as for himself, he valued not what People said of him, but was resolv'd to vindicate the Honour of his Master to the last Drop of his Blood; and if the Civil Power could not keep 'em in order,

His Protestation.

1687.

JAN. 25.

*the Military should.* The ingenious (as he was nick-nam'd by way of Irony) Baron *Jenner* likewise shew'd his Resentment upon this Occasion, by punning on the late President's Name, and saying to him, *Sir, you must not think to buff (Hough) us.* About which time several Officers, then in Town, came into the Room. On Tuesday† the Court being met, Dr. *Stafford*, one of the Fellows, offer'd a Paper in Answer to what was objected the Friday before, that the King's Mandate in Favour of Mr. *Harper* implied an Inhibition, which their Lordships having perus'd, would not suffer to be read publickly, but ask'd the Fellows, whether they would sign it? Bidding them do it at their Peril. The Fellows being withdrawn, and not thinking it was necessary to sign a Plea, which the Commissioners refus'd to have argued, they return'd the Paper into the Court, subscrib'd only by Dr. *Fairfax* and Dr. *Stafford*. Their Lordships taking no further Notice of that Paper, the Bishop of *Chester* ask'd the Fellows whether they would install the Bishop of *Oxon* President, or assist at the installing of him? To this they answer'd, as before, that as they could not do it without deliberate Perjury, so it was not in their Power to do it. Thereupon Mr. *Wiggins*, Chaplain to the Bishop of *Oxford*, impower'd as a Proxy, to be install'd President for his Lord, (then continu'd to his Chamber by some Indisposition) was put into the President's Stall by the Bishop of *Chester*, none of the Fellows being present but Mr. *Charnock*, and took the Oaths which the Statutes enjoin the President at his Admission, and the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy. Then their Lordships conducted him to the President's Lodgings; where Door not being open, and the Lodgings. In *Chester* ask'd the Fellows the Bishop of (by virtue of the answer'd, he neither having already a li

others



others \* comply'd with His Majesties Pleasure, and 1687.  
 others again desir'd time to consider on so weighty  
 a Question; which was granted, the Bishop of Che- \* Dr. Tho-  
 ster bidding them go and consult about it among mas Smith,  
 themselves. In the Afternoon this Answer was and Mr.  
 given in by the Society, (except Dr. Fairfax): Charnock.  
*That whereas His Majesty had been pleas'd, by His  
 Royal Authority, to cause the Bishop of Oxon to be  
 install'd President, they did submit as far as was  
 lawful and agreeable to the Statutes of the Colledge,  
 and no Way prejudicial to the Right and Title of Dr.  
 Hough. This Answer was accepted, except the  
 last Clause, which the Lord Chief Justice, and Ba-  
 ron Jenner declar'd, as Judges, to be insignificant,  
 since nothing they could do, could any way in-  
 validate Dr. Hough's Title, but left them still at Li-  
 berty to be Witnesses for him, or to be any other  
 way serviceable to him in the Recovery of his  
 Right; and upon this Assurance, the Society was  
 prevail'd with to leave out the last Clause. Dr.  
 Fairfax persisting in his former Answer, receiv'd  
 Sentence of *Expulsion*, against which he protested  
 as null, unjust and unlawful. This Protestation  
 was over-ruled by the Commissioners, and a Co-  
 py of the Sentence denied, tho' most earnestly de-  
 sir'd at the Instance of Dr. Hedges, and Mr. Vice-  
 Chancellor, Two Days after. Their Lordships  
 thinking they had gain'd their Point, declar'd, that  
 they were well satisfied with the Answer the So-*

† Oct. 26.

1687.



\* Oct. 27.

† Oct. 28.

Submission  
impos'd by  
the Court  
upon the  
Fellows.

The Fellows  
Reasons  
why they  
refuse to  
sign it.

was the Place of Entertainment? They made it appear very satisfactorily, that one Year with another they gave almost 100 l. in Charity Money over and above what by their Statutes they were oblig'd to give. Upon which their Lordships expatiated upon their generous Bounty and Liberality, saying, the Complaint on this Account was groundless, and that it would induce His Majesty to entertain better Thoughts of them in all other Matters. On *Thursday* \* the Fellows having presented to the Commissioners a List of Leases, which had been renewed for Two Years last past, Mr. Charnock, the new Convert, ask'd their Lordships whether these Leases stood good, which had been seal'd since Dr. Hough's Election? The Lord Chief Justice answer'd, Yes, for Corporations always speak by their Seals. Then their Lordships perused the Colledge Registers; and finding nothing in them to object against, they were return'd, and the Court adjourn'd. On *Friday* † Morning the Commissioners acquainted the Fellows they had represented them fairly to the King, but that His Majesty expected some farther Submission, which they advis'd them to make, by acknowledging their Cont. m't to His Sacred Majesty in Person, and to his Letters; That they should promise to behave themselves loyally for the future; That they should own the Proceedings and Legality of the Court, implore His Majesties Pardon, and lay themselves at his Feet; And that they should declare their entire Submission to the Bishop of Oxon, as their President. The Fellows answer'd in writing, That they had endeavour'd in all their Actions, to express their Duty to His Majesty; and being conscious to themselves, that in the whole Conduct of the Business before their Lordships, they had done nothing but what their Oaths and Statutes had indispensably oblig'd them to, they could not make any Declaration, whereby they acknowledged that they had done any thing amiss, having acted according to the Principles of Loyalty and Obedience, so far as they could without doing Violence to their Consciences, or Prejudice to their Rights, (one of which they conceived the Electing a President to be) from which they were sworn

sworn upon no account to depart. Upon the perusal of this Answer their Lordships exprest their dislike of it, saying, it did not come up to the Address sent to His Majesty at Bath, nor to the Paper they deliver'd in on Tuesday: Whereupon a fresh Question being put to the Fellows, whether they would obey the Bishop of Oxford as their President, all, except one or two, Answer'd, They could not do it. Then Mr. Fulham, being particularly interrogated, he alledg'd, *That the Bishop of Oxford had not Possession in due Form of Law, nor by proper Officers; and that he was inform'd that the proper Officers to give Possession of a Freehold was the Sherriff with a Posse Comitatus.* To this the Lord Chief Justice reply'd in a Passion: *Pray, who's the best Lawyer, you or I? Your Oxford Law is no better than your Oxford Divinity; if you have a mind to a Posse Comitatus, you may have one soon enough.* Mr. Fulham endeavour'd to make an Excuse for what he had said, which their Lordships reject'd; and having thought fit to Suspend him from the Profits of his Fellowship, for *his Contempt and Opprobrious Language*, they Adjourn'd till the 16th of November, and immediately went for London. The King having seen an Account of the Proceedings of the Visitors, His Majesty Order'd them, that at their Return to the Colledge, they should Summon all the Fellows to appear before them, and endeavour to make them sensible of their Offences; and if they should refuse to Subscribe the abovemention'd Submission, immediately to Expel them for their Obstinacy. Pursuant to these Instructions, the Lords Commissioners return'd to Oxford; and being sat \* the first thing \* Nov. 16. they did, was to send for the *Buttery-Book*, then they call'd for Mr. Joyner and Mr. Allibane, two Roman Catholicks, whom they entred actual Fellows, all Oaths being Dispens'd with, besides that of the Colledge. That done, the Bishop of Chester made a Speech to the Fellows, wherein he told them: *That their many Contempts and wilful Disobedience had occasioned this Visitation, which would end*

*Bishop of  
Chester's  
Speech,*

1687. at last in their Ruin; That their Society had been long exercised in the Methods of Quarrelling, had always been troubled with factious Spirits, and testy Manners ever since the Restauration of the late King; That they had encourag'd Quarrels among themselves; Quarrels between themselves and President; Quarrels at length, between themselves and Visitor. That in these steps, from Quarrelling with the President and Visitor, they had at last advanc'd to the highest pitch of Insolence, to Quarrel with their Prince, and Affront his Sacred Majesty. Then he endeavour'd to make them sensible of their irregular Conduct, and heinous Offences, from their first Disobeying the King's Mandate, to that Day; he told them, They urg'd the Observances of their Statutes, of which they had not been so constant Observers when their own Humour prompted them to a Dispensation; Witness, said he, that of being served per Masculos, by which great Scandals have come to this Society by Reason of Bastards. His Majesty, added he, was extremely amaz'd that his Clemency should be despis'd; but yet, to your Comforts be it spoken, his Patience and Goodness extend as far as your Provocations can: But if you still persist in your Obstinacy, those that are too Tall to Stand, and too Stubborn to Bend, deserve to be Broken. And now, I think, I have said enough to let you know, that the Fig-leaves you have so artificially stitch'd together, are not sufficient to cover your Nakedness. I wish to God you had the same Tenderness for your Concern, as His Majesties Commissioners have for you. But if you still persist to oppose the Royal Power of the King, we who are come to Vindicate the Right and Honour of his Majesty, resolve to discharge our Consciences, and Duties to God and the King, without any Respect of Popularity; that's but the Paradise of Fools, and Scorn of Wise Men; and therefore, as for us, we have no more Regard to People's Dislike, than what they Dream. By Reason therefore of your late Hypocritical Submission, the Commissioners have thought fit to draw up an Instrument, to which, if you shall immediately Subscribe, before you leave the Room, we shall leave you to His Majesties Pardon: And this we expect from you all, except

cept Mr. Thomas Smith, and Mr. Charnock, with whose Behaviour the King is so well satisfied, that he expects no more from them. The abovemention'd Submission being Read to the Fellows, all, except Dr. Tho. Smith and Mr. Charnock, refus'd to Sign it; Mr. Thompson being call'd in in his turn, alledg'd he had always been Obedient to the King's Commands; that he was not concern'd in the Election of Dr. Hough; that he Voted for Mr. Farmer, and was ready to submit to the Bishop of Oxon, and so he was excus'd. After a short time, all who refus'd to Sign the Submission, being 25 in Number, were call'd in, and by Sentence of their Lordships depriv'd and expell'd from their Fellowships, for their Disobedience to His Majesty's Commands, and obstinately contemning his Royal Authority; against which they all protested, Declaring they would use all Just and Legal ways of being relieved. This Sentence was confirm'd by a Decree made at Whitehall by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, Declaring, That Dr. Hough, who had been depriv'd before, and the said 25 Fellows, should be incapable of receiving, or being admitted into any Ecclesiastical Dignity, Benefice or Promotion; and such of them who were not yet in Holy Orders, they adjudged incapable of receiving or being admitted into the same. Thus by a Sentence of an illegal Court, were a Society of Learned and Worthy Protestants turn'd out of their Freeholds, to make room for a Popish Seminary; and thus was King James prevail'd with by his Evil Ministers to assume a Power, not only to Dispence with Laws, but with Oaths also. After the Expulsion of the Fellows, most of the Deny's were likewise turn'd out of Magdalen-Colledge by the Bishop of Oxford, and Mr. Charnock, his Vice-President, and Roman Catholicks put in their Places. To acknowledge the King's Favours, the Bishop of Oxford publish'd a Book containing Reasons for abrogating the Test and Penal Laws, and His Majesty commanded the Stationers not to Print any Answer to the same.

1687.

The numerous Addresses which were daily presented to the King by the Dissenters, upon Account of the late *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience*, could not but mortifie the Sound Party of the Church of England, who justly look'd upon the Declaration as a Jesuitical Invention to advance *Papists* to Places of Trust, and by degrees, to introduce them into the Legislature. But to aggravate their Affliction, the Court Creatures gave 'em to understand that they ought themselves to imitate the Non-Conformists; and fill up the Chorus of the grateful Acknowledgers of the King's Indulgence; urging, as an undisputable Motive, that His Majesty had Graciously been pleased to Declare, *That he would Protect and Maintain his Archbishops, Bishops, Clergy, and all other his Subjects of the Church of England, in the free Exercise of their Religion, and in the quiet and full Enjoyment of all their Possessions, without any Molestation or Disturbance whatsoever.* The Bishop of Durham, Chester, Lincoln, Coventry and Litchfield, and St. David's, prevail'd the first with the City of Durham, and the rest with the Clergy under their Pastoral Care, to Sign Addresses of Thanks, which they presented to His Majesty; the Dean and Chapter of Ripon, and some few Corporations, did the like; but yet these Protestant Addresses were so dry and jejune, that they seem'd rather like the forc'd Thanks, which a corrected Child gives to a severe Parent, whilst he still holds the Rod in his Hand; or the awkward Compliments we Pay to such as have injur'd us, when 'tis in their Power to do us further Mischief; than like the hearty and unforc'd Acknowledgments which flow from the Sense of a Favour receiv'd. The Bishop of Oxford was not so successful as the rest of the Court Prelates; for notwithstanding the extraordinary Zeal he shew'd upon this Occasion, his Clergy still refus'd to Sign an Address which might prove of so dangerous Consequence: Yet to let the World know, that 'twas not either out of a sullen Caprice, or Disloyalty, that they denied to Pay that Homage

Honour to His Majesty, they gave their Reasons <sup>1687.</sup>  
in Writing to their Bishop.

Whilst the Privileges and Liberties of the Na- <sup>Pope's</sup>  
tion were assaulted on every side; whilst the <sup>Nuncio in</sup>  
Dissenters fawn'd upon the Hand that was putting <sup>England.</sup>  
Chains about their Necks, and whilst the corrup-

ted Bishops endeavour'd to decoy their Flocks in-  
to the same Compliance, the King gave a Spectacle  
to his Subjects, which made 'em sufficiently to  
understand that he design'd to keep no more Mea-  
sures with them, nor shew the least Regard to  
the establish'd Laws. For Signior *Ferdinando*  
*d'Adda*, Domestick Prelate and Assistant to the  
Pope, who was the Queen's Favourite, had fol-  
low'd the Court ever since the King's Accession  
to the Crown, was declar'd Apostolick Nun- <sup>1686.</sup>

*cio* the Year before, and Consecrated Archbishop  
of *Amasia* in the Royal Chappel at *Whitehall*,  
by Bishop *Leyburn*, Vicar Apostolical in *England*,  
and two other *Irish* Bishops, did now make his  
publick Entry at *Windsor*, \* tho' by Law it was \* July 23.  
High Treason for any to assume the Character of <sup>1687.</sup>

the *Pope's Nuncio*. There having been no such  
Sight in *England* for about a Hundred and Fifty  
Years before, the concourse of People was extra-  
ordinary great upon this Occasion: and 'tis hard  
to say whether their surprize at the Pomp and  
Magnificence of the Solemnity, was greater than  
their Indignation to behold the Nuncio in all his  
*Pontificalibus*, preceded by a Cross-bearer, and at-  
tended with Priests and Monks in the Habits of  
their Respective Orders. This Ceremony occa-  
sion'd the Disgrace of that Illustrious Patriot, the  
Duke of *Somerset*, first Gentleman of the Bed- <sup>The Duke</sup>  
Chamber to the King. For as it happen'd, being <sup>of Som-</sup>  
then in Waiting, and the King having order'd; him <sup>mer set dis-</sup>  
to attend the Nuncio to his Audience, he desir'd <sup>graced.</sup>  
His Majesty to excuse him from an Office which  
the Laws of the Land made Criminal. The King  
reiterated his Orders; but his Grace persisting in  
his Denial, His Majesty told him in a Passion,  
that he would trouble him no more with any  
Commands, and therefore expected he should re-  
sign



1687. sign his Places of Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and Collonel of Dragoons; the Duke obey'd the very same Day, without the least concern, as one whose unshaken Principle is, to serve his King and Country as far as neither of them endeavour to encroach upon the Prerogatives of the other; and to be contented with that Reward which Virtue brings along with it. The Duke of *Grafton* was more Complaisant, and made no scruple to Conduct the *Nuncio* to his Audience. Soon after Signior *d'Adda* appear'd publicly in *London*, and on the Lord Mayor's Day was received at *Temple-Bar* by Sir *John Paston*, and Sir *Basil Firebrass*, the two Sheriffs, and was one of those who Din'd with His Majesty at *Guildhall*. Some have been of Opinion that the *Nuncio* was an Instrument to push things to Extremities; yet 'tis certain that he had a greater share in the Intrigues of the *Ruelle*, than in those of the *Cabinet*; and had too much Sense to approve of all the Measures that were taken. And therefore he often desir'd to be recall'd, lest he should be thought to have a hand in them.

Popish

Judges, De-  
puty Lieu-  
tenants, &c.  
\* April 28.  
1687:

To maintain the King's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, Sir *Richard Allibone*\*, and some other Romanists, were made Judges in *Westminster-Hall*; and Popish Justices of the Peace, and Deputy-Lieutenants establish'd all *England* over; the Judges in their Circuits had their private Instructions to know how Men stood affected towards the King's Dispensing Power; and to turn those who shew'd the least dislike of it out of their Offices and Employments. The Soldiers by this time were grown intollerably Insolent: The Officers too, when they pleas'd, would be exempt from the Civil Power; and tho' the King was in perfect Peace, yet he would make an absolute Act of Parliament, that made it Death for any Soldier, taking Pay in the King's Service; in his Wars beyond Sea, or upon the Sea, or in *Scotland*, to Desert from his Colours, to extend to his new rais'd Army; and because the Worthy Recorder of *London*, Sir *John Holt*, would not expound that Law

aw according to the King's Desire, he was put 1687.  
 ut of his Place; and so was Sir Edward Herbert  
 om being Chief Justice of the King's Bench \* to  
 take way for Sir Robert Wright to Hang a Sol- \* April 22,  
 der upon the said Statute. 1687.

The Court and their Emissaries having hitherto *parliament*  
 ainly endeavour'd to raise a prevailing Party in *dissolv'd*  
 he House of Commons, that would give Sanction *July 2d,*  
 o the King's Dispensing Power, and Repeal the 1687.  
 enal Laws, His Majesty was advis'd to Dis-  
 olve his Parliament, and to Maintain his Su-  
 pream Authority by his Land and Sea-Forces. Yet as  
 Men who follow wrong Measures are always  
 Fluctuating in their Councils, it was not long before  
 they Consider'd that the Superstructure they were  
 erecting upon an illegal Foundation, would tumble  
 to the Ground as soon as the Legal Power should  
 take place; that the Army and Fleet encreasing  
 every Day, the King's Necessities would at last  
 inevitably oblige him to call a Parliament; and  
 that the longer the Meeting of that August Assen-  
 bly was put off, and their Authority disregarded;  
 the more Fatal to the King's Designs their Resolu-  
 tions would prove. These Reflections made the *Papists*  
 Party sensible of the Necessity of calling a Parlia-  
 ment, and therefore all the Methods and Artifices  
 imaginable were us'd to procure such a Lower  
 House as would confirm all the King's Proceed-  
 ings; in Order to that Writs, of *Quo Warranto* were  
 again issued out against Corporations, and the Ma-  
 gistrates thereof terrified with His Majesty's Dis-  
 pleasure, if they dared to insist upon their Legal  
 Right, and contend with him at Law. Besides  
 that, Judges were prepar'd to over-rule the Pleas

1687. About this time the King went on his Progress, in  
 Order, as 'twas given out, to view the Southern  
 and Western Parts of the Kingdom, particularly  
 the Haven and Fortifications of *Portsmouth*, but  
 chiefly with Design to tamper with the Electors  
 of the Corporations thro' which he pass. And as  
 the Presence of a Sovereign strikes an awful and  
 commanding Veneration on the Minds of those  
 who seldom approach Majesty, it can hardly be  
 express'd with what joyful Acclamations he  
 was receiv'd, and what dutiful Acknowledgments  
 were paid him at *Portsmouth*, *Bath*, *Glocester*, *Wor-*  
*cester*, *Ludlow*, *Shrewsbury*, *Chester*, *Newport*, *Litch-*  
*field*, *Coventry*, *Banbury*, *Bristol* and *Winchester*.  
 The University of *Oxford* distinguish'd themselves  
 upon this Occasion, endeavouring by all possible  
 demonstrations of Duty and Respect to Dissipate the  
 King's Prepossessions against them; but all their Pon-  
 pous Entertainments, and Eloquent Speeches, were  
 not able to atone for the Opposition the *Papish*  
 Cabal met with in *Magdalen-Colledge*; so that the  
 King left *Oxford* very much dissatisfied, as has al-  
 ready been related. In almost all other Places,  
 besides *Oxford*, the King's Solicitations had a won-  
 derful Success, the Electors promising to send such  
 for their Representatives in Parliament, as would  
 concur with His Majesty's Designs. And indeed  
 how could they refuse what the King desired of  
 them, when he declar'd, at the same time, that  
 to remove all Jealousies, he would not suffer any  
*Roman Catholick* to be a Member of that Assem-  
 bly? The generality of People, who are apt to  
 have an implicit Faith in any thing that is de-  
 liver'd by a King's Sacred Mouth, conceiv'd great  
 Hopes of this His Majesties Declaration; but the  
 Politicians saw thro' the Artifice, which appear-  
 ed most plainly when the King declar'd in Coun-  
 cil: *That having granted a Liberty of Conscience to*  
*all his Subjects, and resolving not only to maintain*  
*the same, but to use his utmost endeavours that it*  
*might pass into a Law, and become an establish'd Se-*  
*curity to After-Ages, he had thought fit to review the*  
*Lists of the Deputy Lieutenants, and Justices of the*  
*Peace,*

Sept. 5.

Dec. 11.  
1687.

Peace, in the several Counties, that those might be continued, who should be ready to Contribute, what in them lay, towards the Accomplishment of so good and necessary a Work; and such others added to them, from whom His Majesty might reasonably expect the like Concurrence and Assistance: For since the King in his Proclamation for Liberty of Conscience claim'd it as one of the Rights inseparably annex'to, and inherent in his Royal Person by the Law of Nature, to have the Benefit of the Service of all his Subjects, if by means of the Abrogation of the Penal Laws, the Romanists were once made capable of exercising publick Offices, they might also be call'd or elected to serve in Parliament.

To further the Designs of the Court, the new-modell'd Lord-Lieutenants were order'd by the King to Summon in his Name the Chief Officers and Gentlemen in their Respective Counties, and to lay the Case before them so, as to flatter or terrifie 'em out of their Freedom in the Election of Parliament-Men. Another sort of Men, call'd *Regulators*, were Commission'd to the same Purpose, being sent all over *England*, to delude the People, either by fair Promises or Menaces, into a fatal compliance with the King. But notwithstanding all these precautions, His Majesty found himself disappointed in his hopes of having a Parliament at his Devotion. In some Counties almost all the Gentry disappear'd on the sudden; to avoid the Solicitations of the Lord-Lieutenants. The Gentlemen of *Dorsetshire* being assembled by the Earl of *Bristol*, were no sooner acquainted with the King's Intentions, but they Answer'd, that an Affair of so great Importance deserv'd to be discuss'd in the Grand Council of the Nation; to which they would send their Deputies, when His Majesty should think fit to call a free Parliament: The same Answer was made in the Assemblies of several other Counties; and in *Cheshire*, amongst about Seven Hundred Persons, there were only Seventeen who gave their Consent to the Repealing of the Tests and Penal Laws.

1687.

\* Nov. 11.  
1687.

Tho' there was little reason to believe that King *James* should ever compass his Ends by a Parliament, considering the Averseness the chief Counties shew'd to his Designs, the free Spirit, which is the distinguishing Character of a House of Commons, and the Difficulty of Bribing the Majority of that numerous Assembly, yet the Protestants were not without Fears: They consider'd that the Council was almost filled with *Popish* Lords, that Father *Petre*, His Majesty's Confessor and chief Almoner, was lately \* made Clerk of the Closet, and had the leading Vote in their Consultations; that the Church of *England*-Men were turn'd out of the highest Employments to make room for *Romanists*, or such as under the Name of *Dissenters* promoted the *Popish* Designs; and that the King having the Power of *England* in his Hands, and that of *France* to support him, in Case of need, he might enter upon desperate Measures to establish Popery. However, the most moderate amongst them comforted themselves with the Thoughts that the King being advanc'd in Years, his Reign therefore could not be long; and that a Protestant Princess, who was the next Heir to the Crown, would soon make 'em forget the Hardships of a *Popish* Government, and restore the happy Days of Queen *Elizabeth*; but they were struck with Consternation when they heard the Whispers of the Queen being with Child, loudly

\* Dec. 23. confirm'd by a Proclamation, \* appointing a time of Publick Thanksgiving for so Signal a Blessing to His Majesty and his Kingdoms.

The Queen  
is said to  
be with  
Child.  
Discourses  
about it.

The *Papists*, who seem'd already to Triumph over the *Protestants*, were still more elevated upon this News. Nay, some of them had the Impudence to assert, that tho' the Child should prove a Daughter, yet it would cut off the Princesses of *Orange* and *Denmark* from the Succession, upon a foolish Position, that a Daughter born since the King's Advancement to the Throne, ought to take place before Princesses born whilst he was but Duke of *York*. And because the Queen's Big-Belly was in a manner Miraculous, the *Jesuits* gave it out that

that it was either the Effect of a Petition which the lately deceas'd Dutcheſs of *Modena* had put up in Heaven to the Blessed *Virgin Mary*, or of a Vow the Queen had made to our Lady of *Loretto*, with a Preſent of a Golden Image enrich'd with Precious Stones.

1687:

The moſt diſcerning among the Proteſtants began at firſt to ſuſpect the Queen's Bigneſs to be only a publick Report rais'd by the *Jefuits* and Priests then in *England* to ripen their Sinifter Deſigns; and were confirm'd in their ſuſpicion by reflecting, that 'twas not the firſt Impoſture thoſe ſort of People had made uſe of to alter the Lineal Succeſſion of Kingdoms, in order to ſerve the Church. They call'd to mind, that upon the like Occaſion the *Romiſh* Priests gave it out that Queen *Mary* was with Child, that they might procure her a Succeſſor that would advance their Intereſt, and the *Papiſts* began to Triumph at *Rome*, when God was pleas'd to diſappoint their Deſigns in *England*. That a ſet of Priests were the wicked Inſtruments of the cruel and unnatural Uſurpation of *Richard III.* by preaching at *St. Paul's Croſs*, that *Edward IV.* h

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1687. to look upon the Queen's Big-Belly as a meer supposition. However, it could not but keep 'em in perpetual Alarms; for supposing it, as they did, to be a pious Fraud, the Discovery of it would have been so much the more difficult, as it was the interest of the *Popish* Party to conceal it with extraordinary Care.

One may well imagine that the Papists did not fail to improve the Queen's Bigness, to the Advancement of their Designs. The Court Party gathered visible Strength upon it, and taking advantage of the Alarms and Consternation of the Protestants, they procured Addresses from several Counties, wherein His Majesty's Dutiful Subjects, not only Congratulated him upon so joyful an Occasion, but assured him also of *\* Their ready Compliance in the Electing such Members as should concur with His Majesty's Gracious intentions for the Abrogation of the Penal Laws and Tests, equally pernicious to His Majesties Prerogative, and his Subjects Liberty.* The Addresses of the Counties of *Stafford, Monmouth, and York, the Cities of Canterbury, and Carlisle, the Towns of Northampton, Borough of Totness, &c.* were to the same Effect; but none was so artfully penn'd as that of the Corporation of *\* Scarborough*, which therefore I shall set down here at length.

*\* The Address of the County of Gloucester,*  
March 17.  
1687.

*\* Scarborough Address,*  
April 28.  
1688.

*May it please, your Majesty, the Union of York and Lancaster, made the Inheritance of this Empire one; the Conjunction of England and Scotland, made two Kingdoms one; but your Majesty's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, has made our Interest one; thus our Blessings have risen by degrees to their last Perfection; every Happiness was succeeded by a greater, and every succeeding Age strove, as it were, to outvie the former. 'Tis true, our Civil Wars have been renewed in the time of our Fathers, England and Scotland have again been disunited by an unnatural Rebellion; but Liberty of Conscience is so strong a Cement that no Age shall be able to Dissolve it; its firmness will encrease by its Duration; for all Men will endeavour to propagate that Blessing which brings a visible Reward along with it; And if the*  
*darling*



darling Argument prevail, we have already an Ocular Experience of our Profit; Men will not be more studious of transmitting a clear Title of their Possessions to their Children, than they will be of leaving an undoubted Inheritance of Trade, Society and Brotherly Affection.

In the First Place therefore, on our Knees we thank the God of Heaven for your Majesty; and in the next, with all Humility we thank your Majesty, who as a true Father of your People, have provided for them so rich a Patrimony of immortal Happiness: 'Tis a Portion put out to use for Posterity, which in every Seven Years will double and redouble the Principal. God Almighty, as we Hope and Pray, will grant you, an Heir Masculine of your Body; but you have already given us one of your Mind in your Gracious Declaration; 'tis to your self alone, O Sacred Majesty! that we stand oblig'd for it: We own it not to be the Council or Procurement of any other; none but a wise and gracious King could have found it out; none but a Catholick King has been able to effect it. We hope a Parliament will concur and ratify this Blessing, for this Blessing has, in a manner, ratified it self by its own Success. 'Tis an Act already past in the Hearts of all your Loyal People, and what it wants in formality of Law, is supply'd in the concurring Votes of all uninterested Men. It will spread like the Tree in the Vision of Holy Daniel, till it overshadow the Three Nations; and the Birds of the Air shall not only build in it, but also the Beasts of the Forest shall be secure beneath it. May your Majesty long enjoy the Fruits of so happy a Plantation; may it be fenc'd about by the Care of the present Age; and made Sacred to all future Time, as set by your auspicious Hands: And as it is in our Power, so we solemnly engage our selves to return your Majesty two such Members to serve in Parliament, as shall Vote for Repealing, the Test and all Penal Laws in matters of Religion; Laws which were begot under a doubtful Title, were bred up in Persecution, and would subvert the fundamental Freedom of the Conscience, which is God's Magna Charta to all his reasonable Creatures.

1687.

Besides the foremention'd Methods to introduce Popery, the Jesuits publish'd every Day some Book or other to bring their Religion into Esteem; such as *The first and second Vindication of the Bishop of Condom's Exposition of the Catholick Church*; *A Christian Doctrine compos'd by Bellarmine*; *The Mass triumphing*; *The Mass vindicated*; *The Catechism of Penance*; *The Catechism for the Curates, compos'd by a Decree of the Council of Trent*; *An Agreement between the Church of England, and the Church of Rome*; *Vane's lost Sheep return'd home*; *Veron's Rule of Faith*; *The Guide in Controversies, &c.* A Defence of the Doctrine and Rule of the Roman Catholick Church, &c. This obliging the English Divines to draw their Pens likewise in the Defence of the Protestant Religion, the Jesuits were soon overmatch'd; for the famous *Stillington*, *Sherlock*, *Tillotson*, *Tennison*, *Wake*, &c. besides a deeper Stock of Learning, and a greater Force of sound Reasoning, had also a far better Cause to maintain; whereas the Errors of the Church of Rome, being only palliated by frivolous Arguments, false Quotations, and trifling Equivocations, were the more easily expos'd, and their Assertors shamefully defeated. The People, who are generally fond of Controversies, read greedily all those polemical Writings, so that the Church of Rome was so far from getting Ground, that the Protestants were daily convinc'd of her Idolatry, and look'd upon it with Horror. If the English Missionaries, and those who were sent over from France, had been wise, they would not have follow'd a Course in which they have always miscarry'd; for nothing less forcible than armed Troops is able to persuade so monstrous Tenets as those of the Worship of Images, the Invocation of Saints, and the Transubstantiation. But the Jesuits were so daring and presuming, that they must needs try this Method, which however they soon abandon'd, when they found it prejudicial to their Designs. Yet, lest the Protestants should take Advantage of their Superiority, His Majesty was prevail'd with to regulate the Press, and under Pretence that the

the several Parties in the Kingdom maintain'd a 1687.  
 seditious Paper-War, a Proclamation was issued  
 out †, grounded upon a Statute made in the † *Procla-*  
 14th Year of King *Charles II.* prohibiting the *mation to*  
 Printing, and exposing to Sale of all unlicens'd and *regulate the*  
 treasonable Books and Pamphlets, under the Pains *Prefs, Feb.*  
 and Penalties provided by the said Act. By this *13. 1687.*  
 Means the Protestants were cunningly debarr'd  
 the Freedom of confuting the Errors of the  
 Church of *Rome*, which soon after appear'd to be the  
 main Design of the restraining of the Prefs: For  
 the King caus'd some Books to be suppress'd,  
 which contain'd nothing but a Defence of the  
 Reformed Religion, and Disputes concerning Con-  
 troverted Tenets.

While the *Popish* Project was going on to abro- *The Prince*  
 gate the Test and Penal Laws, and the Prote- *of Orange's*  
 stants were in amaze what to expect, an Accident *Opinion con-*  
 fell out that contributed to buoy up the sinking *cerning the*  
 Spirit of the Nation. King *James* meeting eve- *repealing of*  
 ry Day with Difficulties, which he plainly saw he *the Test,*  
 could never surmount without having Recourse to *&c.*  
 violent Methods; the tutelar Genius of *England*,  
 and his own ill Fate, set him on to make a trial  
 of the Inclinations of the *Prince and Princess of*  
*Orange*; not doubting but if he could engage them  
 to side with him in his Design, it would find  
 less Opposition in the ensuing Parliament: But  
 because His Majesty did not think proper to address  
 himself directly to their Highnesses, he employ'd  
 Mr. *James Stuart*, a Lawyer, whom he had par-  
 don'd and receiv'd into Favour after a long Banish-  
 ment, and who pretended an intimate Acquain-  
 tance with Mr. *Fagel*, Pensioner to the States of  
*Holland*, a wise Minister  
 pos'd an intire Confide  
 a particular Esteem and  
*Stuart* writes a Letter  
 avers were the Prince  
 peddle in so nice an  
 allow *Myn Heer Fagel* to  
 they knew would not  
 was oblig'd to repeat

1687. Instances, owning in his Letters, that he writ them by the King's Direction.

'Tis certain His Majesty flatter'd himself that Their Highnesses would not contradict his Intentions; especially in a Conjunction, when so many Reasons seem'd to oblige them blindly to concur with him in every thing; otherwise he would not have been so eager to have their Opinion. But as their Royal Highnesses were Strangers to Dissimulation, and incapable of a Condescension that might prove fatal to those Laws, which the *English* Nation justly looks upon as the Bulwark of their Liberties against the Attempts of the *Papists*; and for which, as presumptive Heirs to the Crown of *England*, they always express'd a great Tenderness; they were at last in a manner forc'd to direct Mr. *Fagel* to write an Answer to Mr. *Stuart*, through the Reports that were industriously spread in *England* by the Emissaries of the Court, as if the Pensioner had acquainted Mr. *Stuart*, that the Prince and Princess agreed with the King, in the Design of taking off the Penal Laws and Test; which Report was maliciously confirm'd by several Letters, which the Marquis of *Albyville*, the *English* Envoy at the *Hague*, was put upon to write; intimating, That the Prince of *Orange* had told him the very same thing; which Letter was also made publick.

Pensioner  
Fagel's  
Letter,  
Nov. 4th,  
1687.  
Oct. 24th,  
1687.

To dissipate those injurious Reports, the Pensioner wrote to Mr. *Stuart* to this Purpose: That understanding he earnestly desired to know of him what the Prince and Princess of *Orange*'s Thoughts were concerning the Repeal of the Penal Laws, and more particularly of the Test; he would deal very plainly with him in that matter, and without reserve, since Mr. *Stuart* had said in his Letters, that they were Written by the King's Knowledge and Allowance. First, He most positively assured him, That their Highnesses had often declar'd, as they did in a particular manner to the Marquis of *Albyville*, that it was their Opinion, that no Christian ought to be persecuted for his Conscience, or be ill used because he differ'd from the publick and established Religion, and therefore that

that they could consent, that the Papists in England, Scotland and Ireland, should be suffer'd to continue in their Religion, with as much Liberty as is allow'd them in the United Provinces, where it cannot be denied but they enjoy full Liberty of Conscience. And as to the Nonconformists, their Highnesses did not only consent, but did heartily approve of their having an entire Liberty for the exercise of their Religion, without any trouble, hinderance or molestation upon that score; and that their Highnesses were ready to concur at any time with His Majesty in the settling and confirming this Liberty, and to protect and maintain it, as far as in them lay, according to the Language and usual Form of Treaties, and likewise to confirm it with their Guarantee, which Mr. Stuart had mention'd in his Letters. And if His Majesty thought fit to have their Concurrence in Repealing the Penal Laws, their Highnesses were ready to give it, provided these Laws still remain'd in their full vigour by which the Roman Catholics are shut out of both Houses of Parliament, and out of all publick Employments, both Civil and Military; as likewise all those other Laws which confirmed the Protestant Religion, and which secur'd it against all the Attempts of the Roman Catholics. But their Highnesses could not by any means agree to the Repeal of the Test, and those other Penal Laws last mention'd, that tended to the security of the Protestant Religion: Since the Roman Catholics receive no other prejudice from these, than their being excluded from Parliament and publick Employments; and that by them the Protestant Religion is shelter'd from all the Designs of the Roman Catholics against it, or against the publick Safety. That neither the Test nor these other Laws can be said to carry in them any Severity against the Roman Catholics upon account of their Consciences; being only Provisions qualifying Men to be Members of Parliament, or to be capable of bearing Office; by which they must declare before God and Men, that they are for the Protestant Religion. So that indeed all this amounts to no more, than a securing the Protestant Religion from any Prejudices that it may receive from the Roman Catholics.

More

1687.

More than this, adds the Pensioner, their Highnesses have thought and do still think it ought not to be ask'd or expected from them; since by that means the Roman Catholicks and their Posterity will be for ever secured from all Troubles in their Person or Estates, or in the exercise of their Religion; and they think the Roman Catholicks ought to be satisfied with this, and not disturb the quiet of the Kingdom, under pretence, that they are shut out of Parliament and Employments; and because those Laws, in which the security of the Protestant Religion principally consists, are not Repeal'd, by which they may be put in a Condition to overturn it.

As to what Mr. Stuart had writ; That the Roman Catholicks in Holland were not excluded from Employments and Places of Trust, Mr. Fagel, told him, He was grossly mistaken. For, says he, Our Laws are express in that Point, excluding Roman Catholicks by Name, from all share in the Government, and from all Employments whatsoever. It is true, (continu'd he) I do not know of any express Law that shuts them out of Military Employments: That had been hard indeed, since in the first Foundation of our State, they join'd with us in asserting the publick Liberty, and did us eminent Service during the Wars; therefore they were not excluded from Military Employments; for the publick Safety was no ways endanger'd by this; both because the Numbers of those of their Religion that serv'd in our Troops were but small, and because the States could easily prevent any inconvenience that might arise from thence; which could not have been done so easily, if the Roman Catholicks had been admitted to a share in the Government, and in the Policy and Justice of our State.

I am, proceeds he, assur'd of this Truth, and I might give undeniable Proofs of it, that their Highnesses desire nothing more earnestly, than that His Majesty may Reign happily, and in a perfect good Intelligence with his Subjects; and that his Subjects being perswaded of His Majesty's paternal Affection towards them, may upon all Occasions make suitable Returns to his Goodness, by all possible Demonstrations

strations of Duty and Loyalty; but their Highnesses are convinc'd in their Consciences, that both the Protestant Religion, and the safety of the Nation, would be expos'd to most certain Dangers, if either the Tests, or those other Penal Laws, of which I have made frequent Mention, should be repeal'd; therefore they cannot concur with His Majesty in these Matters; for they believe they should have much to Answer to God, if the Consideration of any present Advantage, should induce them to consent to things which they believe would not only be very dangerous, but prejudicial to the Protestant Religion.

Mr. Fagel concludes, That their Highnesses ever had, and are resolv'd ever to preserve a profound Submission to His Majesty; as they thought themselves in Duty Bound by the Laws of God and Nature; but since the matter that is now in Hand relates not to the making of new Laws, but to the total Abrogation of those already made both by King and Parliament, Their Highnesses do not see how it can be expected of them, that they should consent to such an Abrogation, to which they have so just an Aversion; as being a thing that is contrary to the Laws and Customs of all Christian States, whether Protestants or Papists, who admit none to a share in the Government, or publick Employments, but those who profess the publick and established Religion, and endeavour to secure it against all Attempts whatsoever.

Mr. Stuart communicated this Letter to the Earls of Sunderland and Melfort, and to the King himself, and acquainted Mr. Fagel with it, without letting him know whether the Court desir'd it should be kept secret or made publick. In the mean time it was printed in England, at which Mr. Fagel was not in the least concern'd, it being done without Minister design'd ther about that; Constructions w<sup>l</sup> put upon it; but see \* a Pamphlet,



1687.  
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Mr. Fagel's  
Letter to  
the Mar-  
quis of Al-  
byville,  
March 30.  
† April 9.  
1688.

or the Happy Union of King and People in an bal-  
ing Parliament, &c. wherein it was affirm'd, that  
the Letter written to Mr. Stuart, not only was  
Supposition, but likewise that the Author had  
mis-represented the Sentiments of their Highnesses  
concerning the Repeal of Tests and Penal Laws:  
Mr. Fagel thought himself oblig'd to prevent the  
World's being impos'd upon by that Imposture,  
and to that Purpose he not only printed some  
of Mr. Stuart's Letters, but writ also to the Mar-  
quis of Albyville the following Letter †, which he  
caus'd likewise to be made publick.

My Lord,  
**W**E have seen here a Pamphlet in English, enti-  
tled, *Parliamentum Pacificum*, printed this  
Year in London, with the Earl of Sunderland's Al-  
lowance; of which I cannot forbear complaining, how  
averse soever I am to make *Expostulations*. The  
Author of it maintains, that the Letter I writ on the  
4th of November last, relating to the Tests and Pe-  
nal Laws, is either a Forgery, or that I writ it with-  
out the Order or Approbation of their Highnesses, or at  
least of her Royal Highness the Princess. Not that I  
pretend to enter into the Particulars of that Pamphlet,  
with Design to confute any thing in it, it being little  
agreeable to my Character and Inclination to meddle  
with publick Disputes of that Nature: But you must  
not think it strange if I put you in mind, that 'twas  
not of my own self that I engag'd in writing the said  
Letter, but rather after I had been powerfully press'd  
to it, for Four Months together, from, or in the Name  
of His Majesty; and when at last I was prevail'd  
with to write it, I did it with all the Precaution  
which so nice an Affair seem'd to require; insomuch,  
that in all that Letter there is not one Period, which  
I ought to fear might displease His Majesty. Never-  
theless, I see that in a Writing, printed by publick  
Authority, that Letter is branded as supposititious, al-  
though His Majesty, and even all the Court, know the  
Truth of the Business; and besides that, I have own'd  
it here to your Lordship, as the King's Minister, and  
to all those that have spoke to me of it. But what's  
most

most injurious to me, is that I am therein charged with having abus'd their Highnesses Names particularly that of Her Royal Highness, as if I were a Person capable of so infamous a Cheat, and of a Falsity so unworthy of all Men of Honour, and that too in an Affair of the highest Importance. You will not take it ill, my Lord, if in this Matter I refer my self to the Knowledge you have of it, and to what you have often told me your self, to wit, that Their Highnesses, and in particular Her Royal Highness the Princess, had declared their Thoughts to you concerning the Tests and Penal Laws, in the same manner as I had represented them; That you had acquainted the Court with it a long time before I wrote my Letter, and that you could not conceive what Reason there was for pressing me to write to Mr. Stuart. I do assure you that I would not be much offended at that Pamphlet, nor at any other of that Nature, having already foreseen that I should not fail being attack'd upon that score, wherein I could easily have allow'd every Body the Liberty of pleasing themselves; but that Writing being publish'd under the Authority of the President of the King's Council, and Secretary of State, my Honour is concern'd to clear my self to the World of so unjust an Accusation as is laid to my Charge. Therefore I thought I could not do better than to address my self to you, my Lord, as being His Majesties Minister, and a Person perfectly well inform'd of the Business in question, desiring you would be pleas'd to write to the Earl of Sunderland about it. I believe he has neither seen nor examin'd the Passages of that Pamphlet which reflected upon me; and I am also perswaded, that if he had, he would not have signed the Printing Allowance; for the said Earl of Sunderland knows as well as any Body that the said Letter of Mr. Stuart is no Supposition, since he has seen the Letter it self, or the English Copy of it, which I had sent along with it. He ought also to be no less assur'd by your Letters, and by what you have related by Word of Mouth, that Their Highnesses, and particularly Her Royal Highness the Princess, have several times told you their Opinion concerning the Test and Penal Laws, as I have express'd it in my Letter to Mr. Stuart.

Therefore

1687.

Therefore I dare promise my self, from the Justice and Goodness of the Earl of Sunderland, that he will take care that the Allowance which was surreptitiously obtain'd for the printing of that Pamphlet may be recall'd, and the Author of so manifest and outrageous a Calumny brought to condign Punishment. Neither will I conceal from you, that I design to publish what has pass'd in this Affair, as well as what I now take the Liberty to write to you, not with Design to engage any farther in the main Business, much less to gratify any Body, but solely to shelter my Honour from so false and heinous an Imputation.

† July  
1688.

What was yet more surprizing in this Affair; was, That Mr. Stuart positively denied in a Letter, which was made publick, that he ever wrote to Mr. Fagel, altho' the Latter had convinc'd him of the contrary, and had still by him the Originals of his Letters. But because the King had seen the Pensionary's Letter, which he was unwilling the World should know, and because Mr. Stuart was very much puzzled how to return a solid Answer, he chose to have Recourse to a Jesuitical Evasion. An Anonymous Author, who presum'd more upon his own Sufficiency, publish'd † his Animadversions upon the Hoer Fagel's Letter, which he address'd to William Penn, and wherein he maintains, That no Man can for the Cause of Religion plead any justifiable Excuse for his not rendering Subjection to such as are his Superiors in a natural or civil Station, in their lawful Commands, and that the inflicting Temporal Penalties for such Errors in Religious Opinions, as cannot be evinc'd by the Principles of Reason, and Conscience, to be against the common Light of Nature (though they may be prov'd by Scripture to be against such mysterious Truths as are proper only to the Christian Religion) is not to be justified either by the general Law of Nature, or general Rules of Scripture. Then he enquires, Whether contrary to Their Highnesses' declared Opinion, many Christians are not subject to be very ill us'd, because they differ from the publick establish'd Religion, if the Tests continue without any further Provision by a  
new

*new Law to secure them from such Usage? Whether those Penal Laws and Tests are effectual to exclude Roman Catholics from any Share in the Government? Or whether they have not been improv'd to a Damage, rather than to any real Advantage to the Reformed Religion? And lastly, whether more justifiable and suitable Security, both for our Religion and civil Rights, may not be obtain'd, if His Majesty pleas'd to give his Assent, by establishing the several Matters propos'd in his Declaration, and some other Provisions, to be made by a new Law, than can be had or expected by continuing the Penal Laws?* These Animadversions were so far from confuting Mr. Fagel's Letter, that they rather confirm'd every one that perus'd it in this Opinion; That it was not the Liberty of Conscience, or the free Exercise of Religion alone, that mov'd the *Popish* Party to stir so much for the Repealing of the Test, since by that Letter Their Highnesses consented to secure them that Liberty, and free them from the Penalties of the Laws; but that their true Aim was to have their Exclusion from Places of Trust taken off, which was the only Security of the Protestant Religion. However, the Pensionary's Letter serv'd at this time to support the true Interest of the Nation, and gain'd an intire Confidence in Their Highnesses, both from the Episcopal Party, and the Dissenters, who did not doubt but that they would endeavour their Rescue, if the Court should proceed to violent Methods to rob them of their natural Rights and Liberties.

The King perceiving the Effect, which the Prince and Princess of *Orange's* Unwillingness to concur with him in the Repeal of the Test and Penal Laws, had wrought in the Minds of his Protestant Subjects, redoubled his Endeavours to get a Parliament at his Devotion; and, for that end, sent down his Creatures into the several Counties, in order to procure the Election of such Members as were inclin'd to acquiesce in his Designs. At the same time he gave out Commissions for the raising of new Troops, and caus'd a great Fleet to be equip'd with extraordinary Diligence, that in

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case

1687. case fair Means should prove ineffectual, he might have Recourse to forcible. The second of March, 1687. a Proclamation was issued out, forbidding the King's Natural-born Subjects to enter into the Service of foreign Princes and States, either by Sea or Land; and a little before† His Majesty wrote a Letter to the States of *Holland*, to demand the Six *English* and *Scotch* Regiments that were in their Service.

† Jan. 17.  
1687.

\* Febr. 2.  
1687.

The States return'd a civil Answer to His Majesties Letter, but withal excus'd themselves for not complying with his Desire. They declar'd by a Resolution taken in their Assembly \*, that having examin'd all the Treaties of Alliance, and all that had pass thereupon, when those Regiments were form'd, they could find no Agreement or Capitulation that could oblige them to grant His Majesties Demand, especially in that Juncture of time. They own'd indeed, that by the Treaties concluded between *England* and the States-General it was agreed, that in case that Crown should have War with some of her Neighbours, and should have Occasion for Troops, the States should be oblig'd to send back the Six Regiments into *England*, as they did in the Year 1685. at the time of *Monmouth's* Rebellion; but that his *Britannick* Majesty being in Peace with His Neighbours, and having no Troubles at Home, they saw no Reason that could oblige them to send back those Troops; that besides, most of the Soldiers that serv'd in those Regiments were *Dutch*; and lastly, that properly speaking, those Six Regiments did not belong to his *Britannick* Majesty, being partly made up of those Regiments and Companies, which in the Year 1674. were in the Service of the States; in a word, That those Regiments had been rais'd at divers Times with vast Expence, either for Lifting-Money or Transportation, the late King *Charles II.* having forbid all Levies for foreign Princes and States throughout his Dominions.

To understand the Force of these Reasons of the States, 'tis necessary to know, that in 1665. all the *English* and *Scotch* Troops; which had been sent to the Assistance of *Holland*; even in Queen *Eliza-*  
beth's

*both's* time, were disbanded by the States; so that those who had a mind to return home, were left at their Liberty; and those who were willing to remain in the Service of the States, were also free to stay. Now because there were many; both Officers and Soldiers, who had their Reasons not to return into *England*, Two Regiments were form'd out of them, which oblig'd themselves by Oath to acknowledge no other Sovereign besides the States. Thus 'tis plain, that the States had a Right to dispose not only of the *English* and *Scotch* Soldiers in their Service, but also of their Officers; but however, to preserve a good Correspondence with his *Britannick* Majesty, they offer'd Passes to all the Officers of the Six Regiments that were willing to return home, which about Forty of them accepted. The Marquis of *Albyville* presented a Memorial to the States, to press them to comply with His Majesties Desire; but they persisting in their Resolution, a Proclamation was issued out, commanding the Return of all the King's Subjects, who had taken Arms under, and were then in the Service of the States-General of the United Provinces, either by Sea or Land, tho' upon no other Allegation, than that the King thought it for his Service. This Proclamation caus'd a Debate among the States-General, the Result of which seem'd to be an Unwillingness to let the *English* and *Scotch* Regiments return, alledging, besides what has been already mention'd, *That there was nothing so agreeable to Nature, as that he who is born free should have the Right and Liberty to settle himself wheresoever he shall think it most advantageous for him; and that it is in his Power to be naturaliz'd and become a Subject to them under whose Sovereignty he submits his Person; And that any Government receiving such, does thereby acquire over him the same Rights natural Subjects.* I press Orders from His Memorial to the States the Dismission of the intended natural Libe

*Proclamation  
recal-  
ling the  
English  
and Scotch  
from Hol-  
land,  
March 14,  
1687.*

1687. Dominion and Obedience had been introduc'd; so that the Rights of Sovereignty and Subjection were now only to be consider'd; And that by virtue of these Rights, it had been the common Opinion in all times, that no natural Subject can withdraw himself from the Obedience he owes to his lawful Prince; and therefore he insisted upon his Demand, as a Right the King would never depart from. But it seems few or none were willing to return, which justified the Resolutions of the States-General, and rendred the Instances of His Majesties Envoy ineffectual.

Threatning  
Letters  
sent to Per-  
sons of Qua-  
lity by the  
Papists.

As the Court was busie in increasing the Land and Sea Forces, and corrupting Electors, the Jesuits were not wanting in putting all their crafty Methods in Practice, in order to establish Popery; and among the rest, they bethought themselves of those Stratagems which the Monks made use of in Times of Ignorance, and which they still employ at this very Day in Spain and America, to terrifie People out of their Senses. Several Persons of Quality, particularly the Marquis of *Hallifax*, and the Lords *Dorset* and *Lumley*, receiv'd Letters from an unknown Hand, by which they were threatened with sudden Death, unless they should make their Peace with God and the King, by reconciling themselves to the *Roman Catholick* Church before the beginning of *February* \*. But those illustrious Peers laugh'd at the Predictions of those unhallow'd Prophets, and turn'd into Ridicule their visionary Way of making Converts. A little while after the Papists possess'd themselves entirely of *Magdalen-Colledge* in *Oxford*, the King having bestow'd the President's Place, vacant by the Death of *Dr. Parker*, Bishop of that City, on a Doctor of Divinity of the Faculty of *Paris*.

\* 1688.

Differences among the Popish Party chiefly between Tyrconnel and Sheridan. Whilst the Papists were industriously contriving to establish their Religion, there arose some Jealousies and Disputes amongst 'em, which went near to break all their former Measures, and to render their whole Party ridiculous. *Tyrconnel* began to discover that *Sheridon*, Principal Secretary of State in *Ireland*, and one of the Commissioners of



of the Customs, sold Employments, of all sorts, both Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military; and that whenever he met with an Opportunity of making an advantageous Bargain for a Place in the Custom-house, he would pretend, that 'twas upon the Lord-Lieutenant's Recommendation that such a Person was employ'd. This by degrees encreas'd so much upon the rest of the Commissioners, that *Dickison*, who was one of them, writ over to the Lords of the Treasury, that they were so clogg'd with *Irish* Officers, recommended by the Lord-Deputy, that he was afraid that the Revenue would sink by ill Management. Upon this *Tyrconnel* was ordered not to recommend a Man, nor any Ways to intermeddle in the Revenue. The Commissioners also issued forth their Orders, that all Persons who had petition'd for Places in the Customs or Revenue, should return to their respective Abodes, for that there would be no Employments dispos'd of. This Bustle created various Quarrels betwixt *Tyrconnel* and *Sheridon*, and from this time forward *Sheridon* bent his Thoughts upon the Ruin of *Tyrconnel*. His first Stratagem to undermine him was to prepossess the *Romish* Clergy against him; which to accomplish, he contracted an intimate Acquaintance with his Chaplain, who pick'd up what he had observ'd of *Tyrconnel's* Contempt of the Mass and Religion. Of this, *Sheridon*, a bigotted *Papist*, gave an Account to Father *Petre*, whose Niece he had married, by which Means he gain'd an Interest not only with that Favourite Jesuit, but likewise with all the *Irish* Clergy, especially with the titular Primate of *Armagh*, who had no Kindness for *Tyrconnel*, and both together, with the before-mention'd Priest, form'd Articles of Impeachment against the Lord-Lieutenant. This could not be transacted with that Secrecie, but that *Tyrconnel* had some Intelligence of it; to countermine his Enemies, he made use of a third Priest, a Confident of his own, by whose Means he intercepted a Pacquet which *Sheridon* was sending over to the Court of *England*, with his Accusation against *Tyrconnel*. *Rice*, and

1687.

*Neagle*, the Lord-Deputy's Two grand Counsellors, advis'd him to write to the Lord *Sunderland*, which he did accordingly, setting forth *Sberidon's* Briberies, and other sinister Practices, not taking notice of *Sberidon's* Contrivance against himself. Afterwards he sent for *Sberidon* into his Closet, and in the Presence of several Persons, demanded of him, whether or no he had written any thing against him to *London*? *Sberidon* confidently answer'd, He had not; but that he had heard that his Excellency had writ against him; which so enrag'd the Deputy, (who was a Man that could not contain his Passion) that he call'd him Traitor, Cheat, and other abusive Names; and pulling out *Sberidon's* Letter, ask'd him if that was not his Hand? Which for the present put him into great Disorder; but after some Recollection he began to justify himself, and to enter into a Capitulation with the Lord Deputy; at which *Tyrconnel* rising in Excess of Fury to kick him, *Sberidon* was turn'd out. *Tyrconnel* and his Party held a long Consultation how to proceed in this nice Affair: They dreaded not *Sberidon's* Interest, or Accusation so much, as this Opportunity of awakening his Excellency's Enemies at Court; after various Debates 'twas at last agreed, That *Daly* should take *Sberidon* to task, and so accommodate the Matter, as to stifle any farther Noise of it, which *Sberidon* was ready enough to embrace; but at the same time both the Lord-Deputy and he strove who should first entrap his envious Competitor; *Tyrconnel* to execute his Revenge upon the titular Primate, for siding with *Sberidon*, revived the Quarrel that the *Irish* Clergy had with the Primate, especially the titular Archbishop of *Cashell*, which happen'd in this manner. Upon an Assembly of the titular Popish Bishops of *Ireland*, great Debates arose concerning the Priority of their Jurisdictions, in reference to which, the Primate usurp'd over them all, not distinguishing the Archbishop, which he of *Cashell*, resenting as an Indignity, inflam'd the Difference to a great height, and caus'd the Assembly to break up abruptly, and

and in great Discontent with one another. This Quarrel had been dormant for sometime, nor did it now continue long upon the Stage, for *Tyrconnel* soon receiv'd a severe Reprimand from Father *Petre* for this rash Action, which tended to expose and ruin their Party.

*Sheridon* to pursue his Designs against *Tyrconnel*, solicited an Order from the King for his going over, which having obtain'd, and being arriv'd at *London*, he soon found by the cold Reception he had from *S——d*, that there was no Expectation of removing *Tyrconnel*; for he was fortified with the *French* Interest, and was, in a manner, Deputy to *Lewis*, not *James*; it being said in *Paris*, when News came there of *Tyrconnel*'s being struck out, That there was none in *England* durst move him. *Sheridon* wanted not those who were Well-wishers to his Design against the Deputy, as *Castlemain*, *Popin*, and some others; but they durst not trust him with their Sentiments, but sent some of their Confidants to animate him with general Promises, without naming any Body. He had not continued Three Days in *London*, when he was follow'd by the Lord *Dongan*, Son to the Earl of *Lymerick*, who brought Letters to *S——d* and others, setting forth *Sheridon* to great Disadvantage; which Negotiation so succeeded, that even Father *Petre*, his Wife's Uncle, would admit him no longer to his Presence; and soon after being return'd to *Ireland*, by Sentence of the chief Judges he was dismiss'd from all his Employments: A just Reward for his former Apostacy from the Church of *England*.

*Sheridon's Fall.*

Another Blow came from *Rome* against *Tyrconnel*, *Vain En-* which requir'd the Assistance of his best Friends to *deavours to* divert: The Earl of *Castlemain* had for some time *supplant* been return'd from his Embassie to the Pope, but *Jefferies* was advanc'd to no Preferment, which he complain'd *and Tyr-* of to his Holiness, and was seconded by Father *connel.* *Petre*. Upon the Receipt of their Letters the Pope writes over to his *Nuncio*, to address to the King in *Castlemain's* Behalf; nor would his Holiness's Recommendation have prov'd ineffectual, had

1687. there been a Vacancy. But to supply that, Father Peters takes Opportunity to strike at *Jefferies*, the Lord Chancellor, for tampering in the Business of *Magdalen-Colledge*: In order to which, he acquaints the King, that the best course to accomplish his pious Design of establishing the Catholick Religion, was to let his prime Ministers understand, that no Pretence of Service done should protect 'em, if they fail'd in the minutest Circumstance relating to the Catholick Cause. This Argument was so pursued with constant Vigour, that 'twas brought to the Cabinet, and it was resolv'd \* that *Jefferies* should be put out, and that Three of the Lords of the Treasury should be made Lords Commissioners of the Broad Seal, and that *Castlemain* should be Lord-Treasurer. This Resolve continued not Ten Days, but upon the sudden the Scene chang'd, and *Jefferies* was more fix'd than ever. The true Cause of this was never known, but 'twas observ'd that the Queen and S—d adhered to him. This gave fresh Cause of Disgust to *Castlemain*, and to the Church-Party; for now it began to appear that Affairs mov'd by the French Interest, in Opposition to that of Rome: Such insuperable Difficulties had the Easiness and Bigottry of the unfortunate King *James* expos'd him to: His Zeal and Affection led him to adhere to Rome, but his Dependence was intirely built upon France.

\* Dec. 17.  
1687.

The Church-Cabal embrac'd the Opportunity of the Lord Deputies and *Sheridon's* Quarrelling, to recommend *Castlemain* as a fit Person for the Government of *Ireland*, representing in lively Colours how injurious those scandalous Impeachments of *Tyrconnel* and *Sheridon* had been to the Catholick Cause, and how much they had retarded its Progress; farther urging, That *Tyrconnel* had proceeded by too slow a Motion, and that he had effected nothing but the turning out of a few Soldiers, and frightening away the industrious *English*, who might by Indulgence and Encouragement be assur'd to turn Converts; and that *Castlemain* was a Man of great Parts, and of an insinuating Carriage.

age, for the accomplishing of such a Work, as the reducing of Hereticks.

This was soon sent to *Tyrconnel*, and by his Pensioner in *London* communicated to *Paris*: To prevent the impending Danger, the Lord-Deputy and his Two grand Politicians, *Rice* and *Neagle*, sit up Night and Day, and consulted what Apology they should make for their small Proficiency in proselyting Men to their Religion; and what Method they should take, for the future, to endear Protestants to the Espousal of the *Romish* Cause and Interest. They consider'd that whilst the *English* were Masters of their Lands, They fear'd not the Government; but that if they were touch'd in their Estates, they would either run into Treason or Conversion; and therefore upon mature Deliberation *Rice* and *Neagle* were order'd to draw up the Substance of an Act, whereby the Lands of the whole Kingdom were, in a manner, given into the Power of the King; and altho' the Catholics were to have but half other part was to be under that the King might disprove to be obedient Sons. have pursued, a Parliament when they pleas'd, fitted corporations being already p and all the Sheriffs of the would not fail to make I tage. This Consult being 'twas concluded that *Rice* potentiary in negotiating Justice *Nugent* obtain'd L tho' 'twas not thought fit t secret Intrigue. The *Irish* A were call'd here in *Englan* *Rice* made his first Court and was so active and in the Design that Father *Petr* in it, tho' at first he coul to hear of it: For he was a *stemain's* Interest; and bei a vain, imperious Temper,

1687. every thing, that was not to his Humour; however this Project being to convert or confound the Hereticks, he at last embrac'd it, and so 'twas concluded, that he and S——d should wait on the King with it. But notwithstanding Father Peter's Adherence to this Design, yet did he continue in his former Inclinations for removing *Tyrconnel*; and 'twas believ'd that happy Difference among the several *Romish* Factions, was the prime Occasion of diverting this fatal Blow design'd for *Ireland*.

The Business was in the Closet fully discours'd to the King by S——d and *Petre*; and His Majesty was soon inclin'd to the thing; but how to pass it in the Council, there lay the Stress of the Difficulty; for he was very apprehensive that such as were opposite to *Tyrconnel's* Continuance in the Government of *Ireland*, would be more violent against his being there with a Parliament, too great for such a Man whom the Council had in Contempt. Father *Petre* thought he could easily remove that Obstacle, by introducing the Pope's Recommendation of *Castlemain*; but that was cancell'd by the powerful Protection the King of *France* afforded to *Tyrconnel*. Amidst these Difficulties 'twas hard to form a Resolution; but however 'twas agreed to, that the Two Judges should be publickly introduc'd to the King with their Project for calling a Parliament in *Ireland*, and to represent to His Majesty the deplorable Condition of his *Catholick* Subjects, occasion'd by the Injustice and Oppression of the Act of Settlement. All this was done accordingly, and they brought to *Whitehall*, where the King receiv'd their Project in writing, and told them, he would advise with his Council about it.

The first Council-Day the King brought this Project to the Board, and in few Words acquainted them with its Importance and Contents, and by whom it was presented to him. No Man spoke a Word, either in Favour of, or in Opposition to the thing, but desir'd it might be read; which being done, the Lord *Bellasis*, in a Gust of Passion inveigh'd

1687.  
 eigh'd bitterly against it, saying, That if such  
 Designs as those were encourag'd, they of England  
 meaning the Romanists) had best in time to look out  
 for some other Country, and not stay to be a mad Sa-  
 crifice to Irish Rebels. Powis according to the best  
 of his Understanding seconded, and in short 'twas  
 to run down, that neither S——d nor Petre  
 durst attempt to speak in its Vindication, but only  
 desir'd that these Gentlemen who brought over  
 those Papers might be heard. Bellasis was for  
 committing them, or commanding their immediate  
 Return, but 'twas at last thought reasonable to hear  
 em. The Day for these Ambassadors to be heard  
 at Council-Board being come, Rice made a Speech  
 full of Policy and Artifice, and answer'd the Ob-  
 jections made by the Lords Bellasis and Powis; but  
 when Nugent came to speak, he unravell'd all that  
 Rice had plausibly work'd together; and Bellasis  
 presently found out the Defect of his Irish Under-  
 standing, as he call'd it, abusing him beyond the  
 Respect due to the Place where the King was, cal-  
 ling him Fool and Knave; and Powis did the same.  
 They were not long in tearing this fine Project to  
 pieces, which when they had done, Bellasis bid  
 them make haste to the Fool their Master, and bid  
 him the next Message he sent, to Employ wiser Men, and  
 upon a more honest Errand. Powis bid them tell him,  
 That the King had better Use to make of his Catho-  
 lick Subjects in England, than to Sacrifice them for a  
 Reprisal to the Protestants of Ireland, in lieu of their  
 Estates. The King remain'd Silent, and without  
 any Resolve or Order broke up the Council; the  
 Ambassadors appear'd no more upon the Stage, but  
 march'd off with great Precipitation, and no less  
 Confusion.

This Miscarriage gave fresh Opportunity to  
 Castlemain's Friends to raise Objections against Tyr-  
 connel, setting forth what Mischiefs he had done  
 in Ireland; that the Revenue was sunk to an in-  
 credible Abatement, and that in one Year more,  
 there would not be left Money enough in the  
 Kingdom to Pay the Army; and that this last  
 Project of his would exasperate and frighten away  
 those



1688.

those of the *English* which were left, who being the dealing and industrious People of the Nation would put a fatal Period to all Trade in that depopulated Island: But all these just and reasonable Allegations, judiciously laid down before the King by sober and considering Persons, were all to no Purpose: For though His Majesty kept it secret from most of his Council, yet certain it is that he had promis'd the *French* King the disposal of that Government and Kingdom.

Things were now arriv'd at that pass, that the *Papists* carried on their Designs without Opposition; for if any Man offer'd to maintain that *Papish* Justices or other Officers were not to be obey'd, he was presently committed to Prison, though by the Laws of the Land they are totally excluded from Publick Places. The Priests and *Jesuits* were openly countenanc'd, and their Books either against the Protestant Religion, or for the repealing of the Tests and Penal Laws printed by the King's Printer, or by the Allowance of the Secretary of State; whilst the *Reasons of the University of Oxford*, for not Addressing the King; some Reflections on Mr. Pagel's Letter, containing a Vindication of their Highnesses Opinion concerning the Repeal of the Tests, and some other Writings of that Nature, were publicly Burnt. Now because the first Declaration for Liberty of Conscience was not esteem'd favourable enough to the Romanists, the Court, thought fit to issue out \* another in a higher Strain, in which they were chiefly included, and indeed, it was for their Sakes alone that any such thing was granted, it being wholly inconsistent with *Papish* Principles, to give Toleration to such as they call Hereticks: This new Declaration was as follows.

*New Declaration for Liberty of Conscience.*

\* April the 27th, 1688.

*James Rex.* Our Conduct has been such in all Times, as ought to have persuaded the World, that we are firm and constant to our Resolutions, yet that easie People may not be abus'd by the Malice of crafty wicked Men, we think fit to declare that our Intentions are not chang'd since the fourth of April 1687. when we issued out our Declaration for Liberty of Conscience—  
 “ (which

“(which was here inserted verbatim) ever since we granted this Indulgence, we have made it our principal Care to see it preserv’d without Distinction, as we are encourag’d to do daily by multitudes of Addressees, and many other Assurances we receive from our Subjects of all Persuasions, as Testimonies of their Satisfaction and Duty; the Effects of which we doubt not but the next Parliament will plainly shew, and that it will not be in vain, that we have resolv’d to use our uttermost Endeavours to establish Liberty of Conscience on such just and equal Foundations, as will render it unalterable, and secure to all People the free Exercise of their Religion for ever; by which future Ages may reap the Benefit of what is so undoubtedly for the general Good of the whole Kingdom. It is such a Security we desire, without the Burthen and Constraint of Oaths and Tests, which have been unhappily made by some Governments, but could never Support any, nor should Men be advanced by such Means to Offices and Employments, which ought to be the Reward of Services, Fidelity and Merit. We must conclude, that not only good Christians will join in this, but whoever is concern’d for the Increase of the Wealth and Power of the Nation. It would, perhaps, Pre-Neighbours, who might lose Advantages they now Enjoy, science were settled in these are above all others most commands, and of commanding World: In Pursuance of which have been forc’d to make trial Civil and Military Officers and minions, not thinking any or in our Service, who will not the Establishing the Peace and Country, which we most earnestly Desire, as unbias’d Men may see by the whole Conduct of our Government, and by the Condition of our Fleet, and of our Armies, which with good Management shall constantly be the same, and greater,

1688



“ greater, if the Safety or Honour of the Nation  
 “ require it. We Recommend these Considerati-  
 “ ons to all our Subjects, and that they will reflect  
 “ on their present Ease and Happiness, how for  
 “ above three Years that it has pleas’d God to per-  
 “ mit us to Reign over these Kingdoms, we have  
 “ not appear’d to be that Prince, our Enemies  
 “ would have made the World afraid of; our  
 “ chief Aim having been not to be the Oppressor,  
 “ but the Father of our People; of which we  
 “ can give no better Evidence, than by conjuring  
 “ them to lay aside all Private Animosities, as well  
 “ as Groundless Jealousies, and to chuse such Mem-  
 “ bers of Parliament, as may do their Part to finish  
 “ what we have begun for the Advantage of the  
 “ Monarchy, over which Almighty God has plac’d  
 “ us, being resolv’d to call a Parliament that shall  
 “ meet in *November* next at furthest.

\* Order to  
 read the  
 Declaration,  
 in Churches  
 May, 4th,  
 1688.

Consultati-  
 on of the  
 Clergy a-  
 bout the  
 Declarati-  
 on.

The King was not contented to cause this De-  
 claration to be publish’d in the usual manner, but  
 to carry his Arbitrary and Dispensing Power to the  
 highest Pinacle, and to render the Church of Eng-  
 land Accessary to their own Ruin, either by com-  
 plying with or disobeying his Commands, an Or-  
 der of Council was \* made, *Enjoining the said  
 Declaration to be read at the usual Time of Divine  
 Service, in all Churches and Chappels throughout the  
 Kingdom, and ordering the Bishops to cause it to be  
 sent and distributed throughout their several and re-  
 spective Diocesses, to be read accordingly.*

’Tis easie to imagine how much the Bishops and  
 the whole Clergy of the Church of England were  
 surpriz’d at this unexpected Order, which they  
 had Reason to take as the greatest Hardship and  
 Oppression that could be put upon them. They  
 had no sooner receiv’d it, but many of them as-  
 sembled in the Archiepiscopal Palace at *Lambeth*, to  
 consult how they ought to behave themselves in so  
 ticklish an Affair. And having first implor’d the  
 Divine Assistance by extraordinary Prayers, after  
 mature Deliberation, it was agreed, that “ The  
 “ Matter of the Declaration was altogether illegal,  
 “ the Foot upon which it stood, being a Power not  
 “ only

“ only to dispense in contingent and particular Cases, which if the Law-givers could have foreseen, then they would have provided against it :  
“ But the dispensing with all sorts of Laws in Cases contrary to the very Design and End of making them ; That such Power was not properly a dispensing, but a disannulling Power, highly Prejudicial to the King himself, because it took away that Faith and Trust which the People repose in him when a Law is made, which they look upon as their Security ; That 'twas true, each Bishop or Minister was not a capable Judge in such Cases ; but however he was a Judge for his own Private Conscience, against which he must not go ; that this Case was publicly adjudg'd in Parliament, 1672 ; That the general Forbearance of Addressees, grounded upon the illegality of that dispensing Power, shew'd this to have been the Judgment of the greatest part of the Clergy and others ; That the Declaration of the present Judges, went no further than the particular Military Case of Sir *Edward Hales*, which in whatsoever Words it was express'd, yet never came legally to the Cognizance of the Subject ; That an unlawful Matter was not to be publish'd, if he who publish'd it, thought the Matter Unlawful ; for it cannot come to him, being illegal, by any legal Authority ; for the King can do no illegal Thing ; and if his Officers do it, they do it not by the King's Authority ; and therefore the refusing of it is no Disobedience, being no illegal Refusal ; That if, then, the Bishops publish'd the Declaration, they did it voluntarily as their own Act, and consequently publish'd an illegal Thing, without legal Authority, and were punishable for it ; That many and great were the ill Consequences of Reading the Declaration ; *First*, That many would justly judge the Clergy either Cowards or Hypocritical Time-servers, in publishing what they thought Illegal, and Illegally sent to them ; *Secondly*, That many who had Votes for Parliament-Men, would take this for the Consent of the Publishers, and be strengthened  
“ in

1688.



“ in the chusing such Men, as should be Friends not  
 “ only to the Indulgence, but to the Foundation  
 “ of it, the Dispensing Power ; *Thirdly*, That the  
 “ World would have Reason to take this Publica-  
 “ tion for an Approbation, because there could be  
 “ no other Intention in ordering it to be Publish’d,  
 “ but to make the Clergy Parties to it ; for it was  
 “ as much known before it was Read, as it would be  
 “ after the Reading of it ; and therefore the making  
 “ it known was not the only thing intended ; and,  
 “ *Fourthly*, That after this they must expect fur-  
 “ ther things to be publish’d by them, at which  
 “ they must make a stand ; and their making a  
 “ stand when they had lost their Reputation, would  
 “ be of no Force ; That therefore in Prudence as  
 “ well as Conscience, they ought not to Publish a  
 “ Declaration, which they knew to be against  
 “ Law, and which in its Nature and Design was  
 “ levell’d against their own Interest, and that of  
 “ their Religion. Some objected, that their Refusal  
 “ would be interpreted by the Papists, as a Failure  
 “ in the great Principles of Loyalty, to which the  
 “ Church of *England* made Pretence ; others said,  
 “ that Dissenters would construe it, as a Declaration  
 “ against all Tenderness to them ; and others a-  
 “ gain, that Suspension or Deprivation of the Re-  
 “ fusers might follow, whereby the People of their  
 “ Church might be left as Sheep without a Shep-  
 “ herd. To the first Objection it was answer’d,  
 “ That their Non-Addressing had been reflected on  
 “ in Books as well as Discourses, but had no Effect  
 “ to blast their Loyalty, though the Clergy re-  
 “ fus’d to Address even in a Branch that made for  
 “ themselves, because of that one Foundation on  
 “ which that Clause stood, with the rest of the  
 “ Dispensing Power ; That Loyalty being Obedi-  
 “ ence according to Law, they were the Loyal  
 “ Men who acted not contrary thereunto ; That  
 “ the best Friends to the Crown are those who sup-  
 “ port the Law ; and that they still maintain’d the  
 “ Principle of suffering without any unchristian  
 “ Opposition. To the Second, That the Dissenters  
 “ had never such Assurances from Churchmen of  
 “ their

“ their Inclination to Tenderness to them as they  
 “ then receiv’d; That they could not but see,  
 “ that this Refusal was not to hinder any Favours  
 “ towards them, by this Indulgence, but the  
 “ Dispensing Power; which if it took Place, they  
 “ could not but discern, that a new *Magna Charta*  
 “ for Liberty of Conscience would be of no Validity  
 “ to them, for a new Declaration might dispence  
 “ with it at Pleasure; and that the wisest and  
 “ best of them would look upon their Refusal  
 “ as a Testimony of their Sincerity to the Pro-  
 “ testant Religion, and not of any Disaffection  
 “ to them. To the last Objection it was answer’d,  
 “ That the Church and their Religion would suffer  
 “ less by the Consciousness of their suspended Pra-  
 “ lates or Ministers, than it would by their illegal  
 “ Compliance in so great and fundamental a Point;  
 “ That they had better Thoughts of the King’s Cle-  
 “ mency and Justice, when he should be inform’d  
 “ by Men of Consciences against the Counsels of  
 “ Men of Interest; for how could the King, at the  
 “ very Time he proclaim’d entire Liberty of Con-  
 “ science to all, even those who formerly were look’d  
 “ upon as his Enemies, do an open Violence to the  
 “ Consciences of those who had ever been acknow-  
 “ ledg’d to be his Friends? And in short, that they  
 “ ought to Perform their Duty, and leave the Event  
 “ to God; and that a Certain Evil must not be  
 “ done to avoid a Contingent one. Upon this Con-  
 “ sultation, the Bishops considering how great a Pu-  
 “ nishment was falling upon the whole Clergy of  
 “ *England*, if they should be suspended for not Read-  
 “ ing the Declaration; and being unwilling to lay  
 “ them under so great a Temptation, as to save them-  
 “ selves from Ruin by a sinful Compliance, chose ra-  
 “ ther to take the Blame upon themselves, in refu-  
 “ sing to send the Declaration to their Clergy. An  
 “ Act becoming the Character of Protestant  
 “ Bishops, and scarce to be parallell’d, except among  
 “ the Martyrs of the Primitive Ages of the Church.  
 “ The same Day, Dr. *Sancroft*, Lord Archbishop of  
 “ *Canterbury*, Dr. *Lloyd*, Bishop of *Asaph*, Dr. *Kenn*,  
 “ Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, Dr. *Turner*, Bishop of  
 “ *Ely*,

1688.

The Petition  
of the  
Seven  
Bishops,  
May 18th,  
1688.

Ely, Dr. Lake, Bishop of Chichester, Dr. Whit-  
Bishop of Peterborough, and Sir Jonathan Trevel-  
ny, Bishop of Bristol, drew up the following  
Humble Petition in behalf of themselves and absent  
Brethren, and in the Name of the Clergy of their  
respective Dioeceses, shewing, That the great Averse-  
ness they found in themselves to the distributing and  
publishing in all their Churches His Majesties late  
Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, proceeded neither  
from any want of Duty or Obedience to His Majesty,  
(their Holy Mother, the Church of England, being  
both in her Principles, and in her constant Practice,  
unquestionably Loyal; and having, to her great Ho-  
nour, been more than once publicly acknowledg'd to be  
so by his Gracious Majesty) nor yet from any want of  
due Tenderness to Dissenters, in relation to whom they  
were willing to come to such a Temper as should be  
thought fit, when that Matter should be consider'd and  
settled in Parliament and Convocation; but amongst  
many other Considerations, from this especially, because  
that Declaration was founded upon such a Dispensing  
Power, as had been often declar'd illegal in Parliament,  
and particularly in the Years 1662, and 1672, and  
in the beginning of His Majesties Reign; and was a  
Matter of so great Moment and Consequence to the  
whole Nation, both in Church and State, that the Pe-  
titioners could not in Prudence, Honour or Conscience,  
so far make themselves Parties to it, as the Distribu-  
tion of it all over the Nation, and the Solemn Pub-  
lication of it once and again, even in God's House,  
and in the Time of his Divine Service, must amount to,  
in common and reasonable Constructions. Therefore they  
did most humbly and earnestly beseech His Majesty,  
that he would be graciously pleas'd not to insist upon  
their distributing and reading the said Declaration.  
The same Evening Six of those Prelates repair'd to  
Whitehall, and being introduc'd by the Earl of Sand-  
erland, deliver'd their Petition to His Majesty.  
Upon the reading of it, the King startled, and be-  
ing greatly provok'd, told them angrily: I have  
heard of this before, but did not believe it. I did  
not expect this from the Church of England, especially  
from some of you. If I change my Mind, ye shall  
hear

The King's  
Answer.



*Hear from me: If not, I expect my Command shall be obey'd.* The Bishops replied, they resign'd themselves to the Will of God, and immediately retired.

1688.

The King's threatening Answer, though it struck a kind of Terror into the Minds of those Reverend Prelates, yet it was not able to make them forget their Duty; they remain'd firm and unshaken; and there were but two or three Court-Bishops that caused His Majesties Declaration to be publish'd; Nay, it was observ'd, that in most Churches; where the Ministers, either thro' Fear or Mistake, comply'd with the Orders of their Superiors, the greatest Part of the Congregation disappear'd as soon as they began to read the said Declaration.

This Affair of the Bishops made a great deal of Noise throughout the Kingdom; The Church of *England* was alarm'd, and upon the Ferment; The Dissenters stood gazing at a Distance, and the Court was both uneasie and unresolv'd what Course to Steer in so Critical Juncture. Some thought the King would now exert his Arbitrary Power, and Deprive those Prelates of their Dignities, by his sole Dispensing Authority; others, that he would be contented to deliver them to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and cause 'em to be Suspended; and others again, that he would refer the Matter to the ensuing Parliament. But the Popish Party had other Methods in View.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Six \* *June 8th, 1688.* Bishops were summon'd before the Council, and having made their Appearance, \* they were ask'd *Mr. Blathwait Deposition.* whether they own'd the Petition? They immediately answer'd, they humbly hop'd, as they stood there as Criminals, His Majesty would not take Advantage against them, however they were ready to Obey his Command. Thereupon they were order'd to withdraw, and being call'd in a second Time, they made the same Answer to the former Question; but the Chancellor pressing them to own the Paper, at the third coming in the Archbishop confess'd, that it was Written with his own Hand, and the rest, that they had sign'd it. Add-  
ing

1688. ing withal, that they had done nothing but what they were ready to Justifie. The Chancellor somewhat surpriz'd at their Constancy, endeavour'd to make them sensible of the ill Consequences of their Disobedience, which tended to diminish the King's Authority; and ask'd them whether they would give their Recognizances to appear before the Court of *King's-Bench*, to answer this High Misdemeanor? This they all refus'd to do, alledging the Priviledge of their Peerage; which they were resolv'd to maintain, as well as the Prerogatives of the Church; being equally bound by their Callings to oppose all Innovations both in Government and Religion.

This bold Answer cast the whole Council into Astonishment; and *Jeffreys* threatned to send them to the *Tower*, and to Prosecute them to the utmost Rigour of the Law, unless they did immediately recant, and withdraw their Petition. They Unanimously answer'd, that they were ready to go whithersoever His Majesty would please to send them; that they hoped the King of Kings would be their Protector, and their Judge; that they fear'd nothing from Men; and that having acted according to Law, and their Consciences, no Punishments should ever be able to shake their Resolutions.

*Bishops  
committed  
to the  
Tower.*

Thereupon a Warrant was drawn and subscrib'd by Chancellor *Jeffreys*, the Earl of *S-----land*, the Lord *Arundel*, the Marquis of *Powis*, the Earls of *M-----ve*, *H-----gton*, *Peterborough*, *Craven*, *Moray*, *Middleton*, *Melfort*, and *Castlemain*, Viscount *Preston*, the Lords *D-----mouth*, *G-----phin*, and *Dover*, Sir *John Earnly*, Sir *Edward Herbert*, and Sir *Nicholas Butler*, to commit them Prisoners to the *Tower*. 'Tis said some of the Judges there present refus'd to set their Hands to that Warrant; but however it was immediately put in Execution; and those Venerable Prelates were led to the Place of their Confinement, with that Serenity of Countenance, which only results from a Calmness of Mind, and the Conscience of a Duty honourably discharg'd. This Apostolical Deportment exacted the Admiration even of the most hard-hearted, and drew

1688.  
 drew Tears from those of a softer Nature ; Now lest the People should be too strongly affected with so moving a Spectacle, they were sent to the *Tower* by Water. This Precaution was in some Measure useless ; People flock'd in Shoals to the River-side, and with loud Acclamations extoll'd the Bishops Constancy, and craved their Benedictions. The Court apprehending a Tumult, order'd some Companies of Soldiers to be up in Arms ; but the People were now under too deep a Consternation, to have Recourse to any thing but Sighs and Tears to vent their Resentments.

Melancholy Passions are best Exprest by Silence : Nor is it in the Power of Words to frame lively Images of that tender Affection, which the *English* Nation shew'd upon this Occasion to their Spiritual Leaders. Not only the People, but Persons of Quality, and even the Soldiers, murmur'd at this Violence, and did not stick to say, that their Duty to the King was not sufficient to stifle their just Concern for those Reverend Divines, who were so unworthily us'd, only because they would not betray their Consciences, and the Trust repos'd in them. Thus instead of falling into the Hands of a rude, severe Guard, They were no sooner landed at the *Tower*, but most of the Officers and Soldiers fell on their Knees to beg their Blessings ; and thus was a Place polluted before by the Residence of so many Traiterous Criminals, in a manner sanctified by the Presence of these tutelar Angels of the Church of *England*, and of the Liberties of the Nation. The King being inform'd of all the Demonstrations of Tenderness and Respect that were paid to the Bishops in Disgrace, and fearing the Consequences thereof, caus'd the Guard of the *Tower* to be doubled.

And now her Royal Highness being retir'd from Court, upon account, as 'twas reported, of an Indignity offer'd her by the Queen, and the Bishops secur'd in the *Tower*, the *Jesuits* Prophecie concerning the Birth of a Prince of *Wales* was at last accomplish'd. It had been a long Time uncertain, whether *Windsor*, *Hampton-Court*, or

*The Princess of Denmark retires from Court.*

1688. *Whitehall* was the Place where the Queen design'd to Lye-in; but on the sudden Her Majesty gave Orders for the fitting up of an Apartment for that Purpose in St. *James's* House; whither she was

\* Saturday carried \* after she had play'd at Cards at *Whitehall* the 9th, of till eleven of the Clock at Night: And the next June 1688. Morning, between the Hours of Nine and Ten,

Prince of  
Wales  
born, June  
10.

People were not a little surpriz'd to hear that she was brought to Bed of a Prince. The former Suspicions concerning Her Majesty's Big-Belly, were now strengthned by the Circumstances of her Delivery: At a Time when most Protestant Ladies were at Church, the Bishops imprison'd, the Princess *Ann* of *Denmark* at *Bath*, and the *Dutch* Ambassador never call'd to be a Witness, in behalf of the Princess of *Orange*; And one who had the Imprudence to speak his Thoughts too freely about this Matter, was immediately committed to Goal. The next Day was issued out a Proclamation appointing a Day of Publick Thanksgiving throughout the Kingdom, which was solemniz'd with extraordinary Rejoicings by the *Popish* Party. Their former Apprehensions of the shortness of their Triumph, by reason of King *James's* declining Age, and the Prospect of a Protestant Successor, had extreamly imbitter'd their greatest Comforts, and caus'd an Intermixture of Hopes and Fears; but now that they had got a young Prince that would become a Patron to the Holy Church, all their Troubles were soon dissipated; loudly presuming, that upon this Fund they might not only extirpate Heresie, but so establish the Catholick Religion, as to perpetuate it to future Ages. His Majesty to Express his Satisfaction, bestow'd great Presents upon several of his Subjects, gave considerable Charities to the Poor, both Natives and Foreigners, and knighted the Queen's Physician. The Earl of *S-----d*, who had often promis'd Her Majesty to make open Profession of the *Roman Catholick* Religion, if she brought forth an Heir to the Crown, was call'd upon to Perform his Promise, which he did, like a true Statesman. Another Lord and a Bishop were reported to have follow'd his Example, but

but Time did soon dissipate those ill-grounded Suspicions: The *Birth* of a Royal Son, which the Papists themselves call'd *Miraculous*, produc'd another shoal of Loyal Addresses, tho' not so fulsome as the former; for now the Heat was much abated, and no *Papist* could Express his Joy for the Prince of *Wales*, but a *Protestant* return'd him this Answer; *The Bishops are in the Tower*.

1688.

A *Popish* Successor being Born, all things seem'd now to conspire to Accomplish the Ruin of the Protestants. There was only a Parliament wanting to ratifie and approve all the illegal Steps that had been made; which was to be done effectually by taking off the *Penal Laws and Test*. To obtain such a Parliament, no Stone was left unturn'd, and no Threats nor Promises neglected to try the Inclinations of People; closetting came again into Fashion, and King *James* was at the Pains to sound every Man's Mind, how far he might depend upon him for his Concurrence. If they did not readily Promise to Serve the King *in his own way*, which was the distinguishing Word at that Time, there was some Brand put upon them, and they were turn'd out of Place, if they had any. But 'tis a Question after all, whether the Parliament which King *James* was thus labouring to Model, would have answer'd his Expectation, had they come to sit; For Mens Eyes were open more and more every Day, and the Noble Principles of *English* Liberty began to kindle afresh in the Nation's Breast, notwithstanding all the Endeavours had been us'd, of a long Time, to extinguish them. And though the Dissenters, who might be chosen into Parliament upon the new Model of Corporations, would probably have made Terms for themselves, to prevent their falling under any future Prosecution; yet being as averse to Popery as the Church of *England* can possibly be, it is not to be imagin'd that they would upon that Consideration have unhing'd the Constitution of *England*, to enable the *Papists* to break in upon the establish'd National Church, which in the end must have inevitably ruin'd both it and themselves.

*Methods us'd to obtain a complying Parliament. Wel-wood's Memoirs. p. 217.*

*Closettings renew'd.*

1688.

*The model-  
ling of the  
English  
Army. Id.*

*Carlisle  
Address,  
May 21.*

However, King *James* had more than one Method in his View how to Accomplish his Designs: For what a Parliament, it may be, would not do, he was resolv'd that an Army should, and therefore Care was taken to model his Troops as much to that end, as the shortness of the Time would allow. *Ireland* was the inexhaustible Source whence *England* was to be supply'd with a *Romish* Army; and an *Irish Papist* was the most welcome Guest at *Whitehall*. They came over in shoals to take Possession of the promis'd Land, and had already swallow'd up with their Hopes, the best Estates of the Hereticks in *England*. Over and above compleat Regiments of them, there was scarce a Troop or Company wherein some of them were not plac'd by express Order from the Court; and that the Nation should be made acquainted with the King's Design in augmenting his Forces, an Address, said to be penn'd by a Jesuit, was procur'd from the City of *Carlisle*; *To thank His Majesty for his Royal Army, which really was the Honour and Safety of the Nation: Let the Teckelites think and say what they would.* And upon this Occasion the Addressers assured His Majesty, that when in his great Wisdom he should think fit to call a Parliament, they would chuse such Members as should certainly concur with His Majesty in taking off the Penal Laws and Testes, and not hazard the Election of any Person, who had any ways declar'd in Favour of those Cannibal Laws. Surely, say they, these Men that oppose your Majesty in so gracious a Work, do not consider what a Sovereign Prince by his Royal Power can do. A Work which Heaven Smiles upon, and will Reward with no less a Blessing than a Prince of Wales.

*The Bishops  
Trial, June  
15th, 1688.*

On the 15th of *June* came on the Bishops Trial, the most Important, perhaps, that ever was known before in *Westminster-Hall*; not only Seven Prelates contending for the Rights of the *Anglican* Church, but Seven Peers of the Realm standing up for the Liberties of *England*. The Court of *King's-Bench* being sat, His Majesties Attorney-General moved for a *Habeas Corpus*, directed to Sir *Edward Hales*,

*Hales*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, to bring up his Grace the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the six Bishops, which was granted; and the Prisoners were accordingly brought up by Water. At their landing they were received by several Divines and Persons of Quality, and by a vast Concourse of People, who with repeated Acclamations uttered Wishes for their Deliverance. On the Bench sat Sir *Robert Wright*, Lord Chief Justice, and Mr. Justice *Holloway*, two of the King's Creatures, Mr. Justice *Powel*, a Protestant of great Integrity, and Mr. Justice *Allybone*, a Profest Papist. The Counsel for the King were Sir *Thomas Powis*, Attorney-General, Sir *William Williams*, Solicitor-General, Sir *Bartholomew Shore*, Recorder, Serjeant *Trinder*, &c. And for the Prisoners, Sir *Robert Sawyer*, Mr. *Finch*, Mr. *Pollexfen*, Sir *George Treby*, Serjeant *Pemberton*, Serjeant *Levinz*, and Mr. *Sommers*; so that the Advantage the King had on the Bench, was more than ballanc'd by the Odds the Bishops had at the Bar, from the Capacity and Eloquence of their Counsel, over and above the Justice of their Cause. Nor was the Auditory unanswerable to the Importance of the Trial; for besides Multitudes of People of both Sexes, the Court was grac'd by the Presence of the Marquesses of *Hallifax* and *Worcester*, the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Bedford*, *Dorset*, *Bullingbrook*, *Manchester*, *Burlington*, *Carlisle*, *Danby*, *Radnor*, and *Nottingham*; Viscount *Fauconberge*, and the Lords *Grey of Ruthyn*, *Paget*, *Chandoys*, *Vaughan*, and *Carbery*. The Return and Warrant being read, by which it appear'd that the Prisoners were committed for *Contriving, Writing, Framing, and Publishing a Seditious Libel* against His Majesty and the Government, the King's Attorney-General mov'd that the Information might also be read to them, and that they might Plead to it according to the Course of the Court. This Motion the Bishops Counsel oppos'd; objecting first, That the Prisoners were committed by the Lord Chancellor, and some other Persons of the Privy-Council, without expressing in the Warrant that it was by Order of the Privy-



1688. Council, and therefore that the *Commitment was Illegal*, and that the Prisoners were not Legally in Court; and *Secondly*, That the Fact for which they were committed was such, as they ought not to have been imprison'd for; because a Peer ought not to be committed in the first Instance for a Misdemeanor. Sir *Thomas Powis* answer'd, That the Bishops being in Court as Prisoners, the Matter of their Commitment was not to be examin'd before the Accusation was read, *For when a Man was Present in Court, let him come how he will, he was not to have any longer Time than that Instant to appear to, and be charg'd with the Information.* This false Position was soon learnedly confuted by Mr. *Fitch*, and the Attorney-General did not blush to deny that he ever advanc'd it; But Sir *Robert Sawyer* having own'd that a Peer might be in Prison for Treason, Felony or Breach of the Peace, the King's Counsel in a Declamatory Manner insisted, that there could not be a greater Breach of the Peace, than for a Man to come to the King's Face, and publish a Libel against him; that there was nothing that did so tread upon the Heels of a Capital Offence; and that two or three Degrees more might carry it to High-Treason. Upon these Disputes, Justice *Powell* declar'd, That it was a Matter of the greatest Consequence, since all the High and Noble Peers of *England* were concern'd in it, as to their Priviledge; That their Predecessors in that Court heretofore would not determine the Priviledges of the Peers, but left them to themselves, to make what Judgment they pleas'd of them; That in an Affair of that Weight and Nature, the Court ought to take Time to consider of it, and look into Precedents; and that for his part he would not deliver his Opinion, before he had consulted all the Books that could give him any Light in the Case; but nevertheless the Lord Chief Justice agreed with Judge *Allybone*, and Judge *Holloway*, that the Fact charg'd in the Warrant was such a Misdemeanor as was a Breach of the Peace, and therefore that the Information ought to be read, and the Bishops must plead to it.

**it.** After the Reading of the Information, the Bishops Counsel desir'd in their Behalf, that they might have an Imparlance till the next Term, to consider what they had to plead to it; alledging, That there might be many Defences that a Man may have to make to an Accusation of that Nature, which it is impossible for him to know at the first hearing of an Information read, and yet which would be necessary for him to make use of, or at least it would be impossible for him to do it in such a manner as the Law allows and requires; That till of later time this Practice which the King's Counsel call'd the Course of the Court, was never us'd, nor was any Man requir'd to plead immediately; That this Course was brought in by the several Plots that had been of late, and the Heats of Parties about them; That the Zeal of one time may introduce that by Surprise, which when things are cool, and at another time will appear to be plain Injustice; And in short, that nothing was more mischievous, or more destructive to the Rights and Priviledges of the Subjects. Judge *Powel* confess'd, that what the Defendants desir'd was very reasonable; and that, if the ancient Course of the Court had been to grant an Imparlance, and a Copy of the Information before the Prisoners pleaded, my Lords the Bishops ought to have the Benefit of that ancient Course. The Solicitor-General urg'd, That 'twas not sufficient to make Declarations against the Unreasonableness of the Practice, for it was but what the Bishops Counsel had done themselves, and insisted upon for Law; That all those Men who upon Informations had been compell'd to plead, had had Injury done them, or else the Bishops would have no Injury by the Court's taking the same Course; That it was not more unreasonable, than the Practice in the Case of Treason and Felony, where Persons are compell'd to plead instantly; That as to what Mr. *Finch* had said, that this was a novel Invention, and a Trick to rob a Man of his just Defence, sure he forgot who he was that taught 'em; and if it was a Trick, they had learnt it from those that

1688.

1688. that trick'd before them ; That he wonder'd the Bishops Counsel should inveigh against the Heat of the Times, when a great part of that Heat he knew who were the Inflamers of ? That he believ'd the Bishops had an Inclination to be clear'd, and suppos'd it was only their Counsel that desir'd to delay it ; That he press'd it therefore, that the Matter might be put upon a fair Issue, and that Sir *Samuel Astry*, Clerk of the Crown, might be examin'd about the Course of the Court. Sir *Samuel Astry* being accordingly ask'd the Question, he answer'd, That of late Years, if a Man appear'd upon a Recognizance, or was a Person in Custody, he ought to plead at the first Instance, but that he had known that 'twas in the Discretion of the Court to grant what time they pleas'd ; but nevertheless the Lord Chief Justice declar'd, That the Bishops ought to plead to the Information. Thereupon the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury* offer'd a Plea in Writing, on Behalf of himself and his Brethren the other Defendants ; alledging, *That they were Peers of this Kingdom of England, and Lords of Parliament, and ought not to be compell'd to answer instantly for the Misdemeanour mention'd in the Information ; but that they ought to be required to appear by due Process of Law, and upon their Appearance to have a Copy of the said Information, and reasonable time given them to impart thereupon.* The King's Counsel labour'd hard to have the Plea rejected ; alledging, That when the Opinion of the Judges had been deliver'd, then to put in a Plea to the Jurisdiction of the Court, was such an Irregularity, and such an unfair Way of Proceeding, as would not be endur'd in an ordinary Case. After a long Debate Judge *Powell* said he was for receiving the Plea, and considering of it. But the rest of the Judges declar'd, That the Plea being frivolous, and containing no more than what had been over-ruled already, the Court might reject it, and that the Bishops must plead over. They having pleaded, *Not Guilty*, the King's Council pray'd the Clerk might join Issue on the Behalf of the King, and desir'd the De-

Defendants to take notice that they intended to try this Cause on that Day Fortnight; adding, That they wereailable if they pleas'd. Sir Robert Sawyer desir'd that their own Recognizance might be taken, which was readily granted; and accordingly the Lord Chief Justice order'd the Clerk to take a Recognizance of the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury* in 200 *l.* and of the rest of the Bishops in 100 *l.* apiece.

The People's Joy upon the Bishops being set at Liberty was answerable to the extraordinary Concern they shew'd at their Confinement. Every Body flock'd to *Westminster-Hall* to see 'em: The Crowd was so very great, that they were oblig'd to get to their Barge by private Stairs; and even then they were not absolutely free from the huzzaing Throng, several Persons running into the Water to beg their Benediction. The Day ended, but the publick Rejoicings still continued; the whole Night being spent in making Bonfires, drinking of the Seven Heroic Prelates Healths, and the like Demonstrations of popular Satisfaction.

On the 29th of *June*, a Day remarkable for the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, the Bishops appear'd before the Court of *King's-Bench*, according to their Recognizances, the Appearance being still greater than a Fortnight before, and honour'd by the Presence of the Marquisses of *Hallifax* and *Worcester*; the Earls of *Sbrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Bedford*, *Pembroke*, *Dorset*, *Bullingbrook*, *Manchester*, *Rivers*, *Stamford*, *Carnavan*, *Chesterfield*, *Scarsdale*, *Clarendon*, *Danby*, *Sussex*, *Radnor*, *Nottingham*, and *Abington*; Viscount *Fauconberge*, and the Lords *Newport*, *Grey of Ruthyn*, *Paget*, *Chandoys*, *Vaughan*, *Carbery*, *Lumley*, *Carteret* and *Ossulston*. The Information being read, and open'd to the Jury, the Attorney-General, to take off the Odium of this Prosecution, and, in some measure, to pacifie the People, who could not forbear shewing their Resentments, even in the Face of the Court, observed, *First*, "That the Bishops were not prosecuted as Bishops, nor much less for any Point or Matter of Religion, but as Subjects of this Kingdom, and only for a Temporal Crime, as those that had injur'd and af-

1688.

1688.

“affronted the King to his very Face. In the next  
 “place, that they were not prosecuted for omit-  
 “ting to do any thing, but as they were Actors  
 “for censuring of His Majesty and His Govern-  
 “ment, and for giving their Opinions in Matters  
 “wholly relating to Law and Government; That  
 “there is not any one thing, which the Law is  
 “more jealous of, than all Accusations and Ar-  
 “raignments of the Government; That no Man  
 “is allowed to accuse even the most inferior Ma-  
 “gistrate of any Misbehaviour in his Office, unless  
 “it be in a legal Course, tho’ the Fact be true;  
 “That least of all may any Man censure the King,  
 “for it tends to possess the People that the Go-  
 “vernment is ill administred, the Consequence of  
 “which is, to set them upon desiring a Reforma-  
 “tion, and what that tended to, and would end  
 “in, they had all had a sad, and too dear-bought  
 “Experience of; That Men were to take their pro-  
 “per Remedies for Redressing of any Grievance  
 “they lay under, and that the Law had sufficiently  
 “provided for that; That His Majesty of His  
 “great Clemency and Goodness, and out of his  
 “Desire that all his Subjects should live easie un-  
 “der him, did issue forth his Declaration for Li-  
 “berty of Conscience, which without all question  
 “was welcome to all his People that stood in need  
 “of it; and those that did not, could not but say  
 “the thing in the nature of it was very just and  
 “gracious; That to take away the Surmises of  
 “People, that the King was not in earnest, and  
 “would not, or could not make good his Pro-  
 “mise, His Majesty was pleas’d to renew them  
 “to his Subjects. Nay, that to the end that this  
 “might be known to all his People, even to the  
 “meanest, who, it may be, were not willing or  
 “able to buy the Declaration; and that the King  
 “himself might be under higher Obligations, if  
 “it were possible, than his own Word, he was  
 “desirous it should be repeated in the Churches,  
 “and read in that sacred Place, that all his People  
 “might hear what he had promis’d, and he him-  
 “self might be under that solemn Tie and Obli-  
 “gation

“gation to keep his Word, by remembering that  
“his Promises had, by his own Command, been  
“publish’d, in the time of Divine Service, in the  
“the House of God ; That the Jury would find,  
“when that which the Prisoners call’d a Petition  
“should be read to them, That all the Thanks  
“His Majesty had for his Favour and Goodness  
“to his People, were only hard Words, and a  
“heavy Accusation, such as a private Person would  
“be little able to bear ; That His Majesty, who  
“was always a Prince of as great Clemency as  
“ever the Kingdom had, and who was repre-  
“sented for all that, as a Prince of the greatest  
“Cruelty before his Accession to the Crown,  
“by his Enemies, was now accus’d by his Friends  
“for this effect of his Mercy ; And that His Ma-  
“jesty resented this Usage so far, that he had or-  
“der’d, and thought fit to have a publick Vindi-  
“cation of his Honour, in this matter by this  
“Trial. After a great deal of Time spent in pro-  
“ving, that the Petition produc’d in Court was  
“the Hand-writing of the Archbishop of *Canter-*  
“*bury* ; That it was signed by him and the Six  
“Bishops, and that it was the same which was  
“presented to His Majesty ; which last was evi-  
“denc’d by the Depositions of Sir *John Nicholas*,  
“*Mr. Bridgman*, *Mr. Musgrave*, and *Mr. Blathwayt* :  
“*Mr. Finch* objected, That there were Two Parts  
“in the Information, the one was for conspiring to  
“diminish the King’s Prerogative, by writing a Sedi-  
“tious Libel ; the other for publishing that Libel ;  
“That both Parts were local, and until the King’s  
“Counsel had prov’d the making and writing  
“of it to have been in *Middlesex*, as ’twas said  
“to be in the Information, it was not Evidence  
“upon that Information. *Mr. Sommers* urg’d in  
“Favour of the Bishops, That all Matters of Crimes  
“were so local, that if it be not prov’d to be done  
“in the County where it is laid, the Party accus’d  
“is as innocent as if he never had done the thing ;  
“That it was the very Point of the Informati-  
“on, that it be prov’d they were guilty of the Fact  
“in the Place where it is laid to be done ; And  
“there-

1688.



“thereupon Evidences were produc’d that the  
 “Archbishop had not stirr’d from his Pallace at  
 “*Lambeth* in *Surrey*, from *Michaelmas* last, till the  
 “time he was summon’d before the Council  
 “It was answer’d on the King’s Behalf, That the  
 “the thing be never so local, yet there must be  
 “some Place where a thing that was done, was  
 “done; That having prov’d the Bishops Hands  
 “and they owning the Petition at *Whitehall* in  
 “*Middlesex*, the Presumption upon such Evidence  
 “was, that it was done in the Place where it was  
 “own’d; That as it lay in their Knowledge, so it  
 “was incumbent upon them to prove, that it was  
 “not in *Middlesex*. And that where there is a  
 “complicated Crime of writing and publishing a  
 “Libel, and the beginning of it is in one County,  
 “and the carrying it on is in another, that is a  
 “continued Act, and may be tried in either Coun-  
 “ty. As to the second and most material Part  
 “of the Information, the Publishing of the Libel,  
 “which is that that makes it a Crime, the Bishops  
 “Counsel alledg’d, That their acknowledging it  
 “was their Hands, when the King ask’d them  
 “the Question at the Council-Table, could not  
 “be construed a Publication; That the Care and  
 “Wariness that had been us’d that the Matter of  
 “the Petition should be kept secret, the Archbishop  
 “not having admitted even his own Secretary,  
 “but writ all himself, was a great Evidence in it  
 “self against the Proof of a Publication; That  
 “the Nature of Libels is to publish and proclaim  
 “Scandal and Defamation, or else they lose their  
 “End, and consequently their Name; That it  
 “would be a thing of wonderful Consequence, if  
 “an Answer to a Question put by Authority,  
 “should amount to a Crime; that ’twould be as if  
 “Authority that should be employ’d to do Right,  
 “would be turn’d to do the greatest Wrong;  
 “That the owning of the Petition being done at  
 “the King’s Command, it was certainly the King  
 “that publish’d it then, and not the Bishops;  
 “And that the Prosecutors were so far from ha-  
 “ving prov’d that the Bishops did publish it,  
 “that



“ that on the contrary they had prov’d that their  
 “ Lordships did not publish it. The King’s  
 “ Counsel replied, That now the Matter was reduc’d  
 “ to a very narrow Question, which was not, whe-  
 “ ther the owning it be a Publication, but whe-  
 “ ther there was any Evidence that they did  
 “ deliver it to the King ; for if they did deliver it,  
 “ that must be agreed to be a Publication. There-  
 “ upon the Lord Chief Justice said, he thought  
 “ there was no Evidence against the Bishops, as to  
 “ the Delivery of the Petition, and was going to  
 “ direct the Jury accordingly ; when being inter-  
 “ rupted by Mr. *Finch*, the King’s Counsel took  
 “ this Opportunity to send for the Earl of *Sunder-*  
 “ *land*, who depos’d, That he introduc’d the Bi-  
 “ shops, and was in the Room when they deliver’d  
 “ a Petition to His Majesty. The Fact being thus  
 “ fully prov’d, the Bishops Counsel were heard in  
 “ their Defence. *First*, Sir *Robert Sawyer* alledg’d,  
 “ That the Petition in Question was presented to  
 “ the King in the most private and humble man-  
 “ ner ; That there was nothing in it that contain’d  
 “ any thing of Sedition, or any one Word that  
 “ tended to diminish the King’s Authority, but  
 “ only a Prayer to be reliev’d against an Order of  
 “ Council, which the Defendants conceiv’d they  
 “ were aggriev’d by ; that it was an Excuse bare-  
 “ ly for their Non-compliance with the King’s  
 “ Order, because the *Dispensing Power*, upon which  
 “ it was founded, had been several times in Par-  
 “ liament declar’d to be against Law ; That it  
 “ can be no question, but that any Subject that is  
 “ commanded by the King to do a thing which  
 “ he conceives to be against Law, and against his  
 “ Conscience, may apply himself to the King, and  
 “ tell him the Reason why he does not concur  
 “ with His Majesty in such a Command ; That  
 “ the King’s Counsel did insist upon, that in  
 “ in this Case the Bishops were not Sued as Bishops,  
 “ nor Prosecuted for their Religion, but truly he  
 “ knew not what they were Sued for else, the In-  
 “ formation being against them as Bishops, for  
 “ an Act they did as Bishops, and no otherwise ;  
 “ and

1688.



“ and for an Act they conceiv’d they lawfully  
 “ might do with relation to their Ecclesiastical  
 “ Polity ; That they were not Busic-bodies, or  
 “ such as meddled in Matters that did not re-  
 “ late to them, but that which was properly with-  
 “ in their Sphere and Jurisdiction ; That to load  
 “ this Petition with such horrid black Epithets,  
 “ That it was done libellously, maliciously, and  
 “ scandalously, and to oppose the King and Go-  
 “ vernment, was a very hard Case, and that the  
 “ Lords Bishops could not but conceive a great  
 “ deal of Trouble; that they should lye under so  
 “ heinous a Charge, where there was so little Proof  
 “ to make it out ; That their publishing of the  
 “ King’s Declaration was attended with Conse-  
 “ quences of the greatest Moment; for if it had  
 “ any Effect in Law, and these Laws were sus-  
 “ pended by virtue of this Declaration, then cer-  
 “ tainly it was of the most dismal Consequence ;  
 “ and it behov’d the Bishops, as Fathers of the  
 “ Church, humbly to represent it to the King ;  
 “ That by that Declaration, not only the Laws of  
 “ our Reformation, but all the Laws for the Pre-  
 “ servation of the Christian Religion in general  
 “ were Suspended, and became of no Force, and  
 “ all other Religions permitted ; And thus all  
 “ our Laws for keeping the Sabbath, and which  
 “ distinguish us from Heathens, would be Suspend-  
 “ ed too ; That when a Law is Suspended, the  
 “ Obligation thereof is taken away : So that the  
 “ Declaration discharg’d at once all Ministers and  
 “ Clergymen from performing their Duty in read-  
 “ ing the Service of the Church, and their Hearers  
 “ from attending upon that Service ; And what a  
 “ Mischief that would be to the Church, which  
 “ was under the Care of the Defendants, every  
 “ one might easily apprehend. That this pretend-  
 “ ed Power of Suspending Laws had often been  
 “ declar’d illegal by the Parliament, as appears  
 “ particularly in the time of *Richard II.* concern-  
 “ ing the Statute of *Provisors* ; for where there were  
 “ particular Dispensations for that Statute, the  
 “ King was enabled to do it by Act of Parliament,  
 “ and

and could not do it without ; and by the Proceedings of the House of Commons in the Years 1662, 1672, and 1688. That in delivering this Petition the Bishops had done nothing but their Duty, and meddled with their own Affairs, which he made appear by the general Care that is repos'd in them by the Laws of the Land ; urging further, That they are frequently in Law Books call'd, the King's Spiritual Judges ; That they are intrusted with the Care of Souls, and the Superintendency over all the Clergy ; And besides, that there is a special Care put upon them, by the express Words of an Act of Parliament (made i Eliz.) which makes them special Guardians of the Law of Uniformity : *In God's Name earnestly Requiring and Charging all the Archbishops and Bishops, that they do endeavour themselves to the utmost of their Knowledges, that the true and due Execution thereof might be had from their Diocesses, as they will answer before God for such Evils and Plagues, wherewith Almighty God may justly punish his People for neglecting this good and wholesome Law :* So that the Bishops, upon Pain of bringing upon themselves the Imprecation of this Act of Parliament, were oblig'd to see it executed ; and that when any thing came under their Knowledge, especially if they were to be Actors in it, that had such a Tendency to destroy the very Foundations of the Church, (as the Suspension of the Laws that relate to the Church must do, it concern'd them that had no other Remedy, to address the King, by Petition, about it. Mr. Finch back'd what had been alledg'd by Sir Robert Sawyer, and urg'd, That tho' the Bishops had deliver'd the Paper mention'd in the Information, yet unless they had deliver'd a false, malicious, seditious and scandalous Libel, unless they had publish'd it to stir up Sedition in the Kingdom, and unless they had contriv'd this by Conspiracy, to diminish the King's Prerogative and Authority, and that Power that was said to be in the King, the Lords were not guilt-

1688.



“ ty of the Accusation ; That the King’s Decla-  
 “ ration was founded upon a Power of dispensing,  
 “ which undertook to suspend all Laws Ecclesia-  
 “ stical whatsoever, as if the King had such a Pow-  
 “ er ; That a Power to abrogate Laws, was as  
 “ much a Part of the Legislature, as a Power to  
 “ make Laws ; That according to the Constitution  
 “ of the Government in *England*, the Legislative  
 “ Power was in the King, Lords and Commons ;  
 “ But then if that Declaration was founded upon  
 “ a part of the Legislature, which must be by all  
 “ Men acknowledged not to reside in the King  
 “ alone, it could not be a legal and true Power or  
 “ Prerogative ; That in the Year 1662. where  
 “ there was but the least Umbrage given of such  
 “ a Dispensing Power, altho’ the King had declar’d  
 “ in his Speech to the Parliament, *That he wish’d*  
 “ *he had such a Power*, which his Declaration be-  
 “ fore seem’d to assume, the Parliament was so  
 “ jealous of this, that they immediately made  
 “ their Application to His Majesty, by an Address  
 “ against the Declaration ; alledging amongst o-  
 “ ther Reasons, *That the King could not dispense*  
 “ *with those Laws without an Act of Parliament.*  
 “ That there was another Attempt in 1672. and  
 “ then, after His Majesty had in his Speech mention’d  
 “ his Declaration to them, the Parliament, parti-  
 “ cularly the House of Commons, presented an Ad-  
 “ dress to His Majesty, setting forth that this could  
 “ not be done by Law without an Act of Parlia-  
 “ ment ; And His Majesty concurr’d so far with  
 “ them in that Opinion, that he caus’d it to be  
 “ made known to the House of Lords by the  
 “ Lord Chancellor, that His Majesty had broken  
 “ the Seal, and cancell’d the Declaration, with  
 “ this further Declaration, *That it should never be*  
 “ *drawn into Example or Consequence.* Mr. Pollixfen  
 “ insisted, That the King’s Declaration was not  
 “ agreeable to the Laws of the Land, because it  
 “ did at one Blow set aside all the Laws we have  
 “ in *England*, for they are almost all Penal Laws,  
 “ not only before the Reformation, but since ; That  
 “ the Will of the King is what the Law is, and if  
 “ the

the King's Will be not consonant to the Law,  
 it is not obliging; That the Cases of Dispensa-  
 tions were all so many strong Authorities against  
 a general or particular Abrogation; for why  
 should any Man go about to argue, that the  
 King may dispense with this or that particular  
 Law, if at once he can dispense with all the Law  
 by an undoubted Prerogative? Serjeant *Pember-*  
*ton* alledg'd on the same side; That such a dis-  
 pensing Power with Laws and Statutes, strikes  
 at the very Foundations of all the Rights, Liber-  
 ties and Properties of the King's Subjects; That  
 the Penal Laws are the great Bulwark of the  
 Reformed Religion, and the only humane Fence  
 of the Church of *England*; That they were made  
 upon a Forelight of the Mischief that had, and  
 might come, by false Religions into this King-  
 dom; and, that they were intended to defend  
 the Nation against them, and to keep them out,  
 particularly the *Romish Religion*, which is the  
 very worst of all Religions, and no way tole-  
 rable among us, whereas if this Declaration took  
 Effect, that Religion would stand upon the same  
 Terms with the Protestant Religion. Mr. *Som-*  
*mers* brought up the Rear of the Bishops Defence;  
 and mention'd the great Case of *Thomas and Sor-*  
*rel* in the Exchequer-Chamber upon the Validity  
 of a Dispensation; urging, That there it was  
 the Opinion of every one of the Judges, that  
 there never could be an Abrogation, or a Sus-  
 pension (which is a temporary Abrogation) of  
 an Act of Parliament, but by the Legislative  
 Power; That indeed it was disputed, how far  
 the King might dispense with the Penalties in  
 such a particular Law, as to particular Persons;  
 but that it was agreed by all, that the King had  
 no Power to Suspend any Law; That by the  
 Law of all civiliz'd Nations, if the Prince does  
 require something to be done, which the Person,  
 who is to do it, takes to be unlawful, it is not  
 only Lawful, but his Duty, *Rescribere Principi*,  
 which is all the Bishops had done here; and  
 that in the most humble manner; That as to

1688.



“Matters of Fact alledg’d in the said Petition,  
 “there could be no Design to diminish the Prero-  
 “gative, because the King has no such Prerogative;  
 “That the Petition could not be Seditious, be-  
 “cause it was presented to the King in private  
 “and alone; Nor false, because the Matter of it  
 “was true; Nor malicious, for the Occasion was  
 “not sought, the Thing was press’d upon them;  
 “Nor, in short, a Libel, because the Intent was  
 “innocent, and they kept within the Bounds set  
 “by the Act of Parliament, that gives the Sub-  
 “ject leave to apply to his Prince by Petition  
 “when he is aggriev’d. To all these weighty and  
 “forcible Reasons the King’s Council made but  
 “this frivolous Reply; That our Religion teaches  
 “us, not to preserve our Religion or our Lives  
 “by any illegal Courses; That the Evidences  
 “produc’d by the Defendants against the King’s  
 “dispensing Power were only Transactions in Par-  
 “liament; and that no one would affirm that any  
 “thing can be a Declaration of Parliament, unless  
 “he that is the principal Part concurs who is  
 “the King; for if one speaks of the Court of Parlia-  
 “ment in a legal Sense, he must speak of the whole  
 “Body, King, Lords and Commons, and that a Decla-  
 “ration in Parliament must be by all the whole Bo-  
 “dy, and that is properly an Act of Parliament. That  
 “there was no greater Proof of the Influence of the  
 “Bishops Petition than the Crowd of that Day,  
 “and the Harangues that had been made; That  
 “the taking this Liberty to canvas and dispute the  
 “King’s Power and Authority, and to censure his  
 “Actions, possess’d the People with strange Opi-  
 “nions, and rais’d Discontents and Jealousies, as  
 “if the free Course of Law were restrain’d, and  
 “Arbitrary Will and Pleasure set up instead of it;  
 “That it was a question whether the Bishops, out  
 “of Parliament, can present any Petition to the King?  
 “That if they were commanded to do any thing  
 “against their Consciences, they should have ac-  
 “quiesced till the Meeting of the Parliament;  
 “That the King is Supream over all of us, and  
 “has a particular Supremacy over the Bishops, as  
 “Supream

## The Reign of King JAMES II.

181

1888.

“Supreame Ordinary, Governor, and Moderator of  
“the Church, and as such, may dispense with all  
“Ecclesiastical Statutes; That it was adjudg’d in  
“the Case of Sir *Edward Hales*, that the King had  
“a Power to dispense with *Penal Laws*; and that  
“the Defendants by questioning the King’s Power,  
“and referring themselves to the Declarations in  
“Parliament, had done that which of late Days  
“had been always look’d upon as an ill thing,  
“as if the King’s Authority was under the Suffrages  
“of Parliament. The Counsel on both sides ha-  
“ving done speaking, Chief Justice *Wright* summ’d  
“up the Evidence, and told the Jury, That some-  
“times the Dispensing Power had been allow’d, as  
“in *Richard II*’s time, and sometimes denied; but  
“that it was a Question out of the present Case.  
“Then he gave them Directions, That if they be-  
“liev’d the Petition to be the same, that was pre-  
“sented by the Bishops to the King, then the Pub-  
“lication was sufficiently prov’d. Next, that  
“what tended to disturb the Government, or  
“make a stir among the People, was certainly with-  
“in the Case of *Libellis Famosis*, and his Opinion  
“in short was, that the Bishops Petition was a  
“*Libel*. Mr. Justice *Holloway* declar’d, That the  
“End and Intention of every Action was to be  
“consider’d; That the Bishops were charg’d with  
“delivering a Petition, which according to their  
“Defence was done with all the Humility and De-  
“cency imaginable; And that as they were Men  
“of good Lives, the delivering of a Petition was  
“no Fault, it being the Right of every Subject to Pe-  
“tition; Therefore if the Jury were satisfied they  
“did it with no ill Intention, but only to shew  
“the Reasons of their Disobedience to the King’s  
“Command, he could not think it to be a Libel.  
“Mr. Justice *Powel* more plainly declar’d, That he  
“could discern no Sedition, or any other Crime  
“fixed upon the Reverend Fathers, the Lords Bi-  
“shops, since there was nothing offer’d by the  
“King’s Counsel to render the Petition false, ma-  
“licious or seditious. He admonish’d the Jury to  
“consider, that the Contents of the Petition were,



1688.

“ That the Bishops apprehended the Declaration  
 “ was illegal, being founded upon a Dispensing Pow-  
 “ er claim'd by the King; but for his part he did  
 “ not remember in any Case in all the Law, that  
 “ there was any such Power in the King; And if  
 “ there be no such Power in the King, the Peti-  
 “ tion could not be a Libel. He concluded with  
 “ telling them, That he could see no Difference  
 “ between the King's Power to Dispense with Laws  
 “ Ecclesiastical, and his Power to Dispense with  
 “ any other Laws whatsoever; That if this were  
 “ once allow'd of, there would be no Need of Par-  
 “ liaments, and all the Legislature would be in  
 “ the King, and so he left the Issue to God and  
 “ their Consciences. Mr. Justice *Allybone* laid down  
 “ these Two Positions. 1. That no Man can  
 “ take upon him to write against the actual Exer-  
 “ cise of the Government, unless he have Leave  
 “ from the Government, but he makes a Libel, be  
 “ what he writes true or false. 2. That no pri-  
 “ vate Man can take upon him to write concerning  
 “ the Government at all, and that when he in-  
 “ trudes himself into other Men's Business, that  
 “ does not concern his particular Interest, he is  
 “ a Libeller. These Positions he back'd by a Reso-  
 “ lution of the Judges in King *James I's* time, that  
 “ to frame a Petition to the King to put the Penal Laws  
 “ in Execution, was next Door to Treason, which was a  
 “ gross Misquotation, instead of a Petition against the  
 “ Penal Laws, and for which being taken up by Judge  
 “ *Powel*, and Serjeant *Pemberton*, little Heed was gi-  
 “ ven to any thing he said afterwards. Whereupon  
 “ the Jury withdrew, sat up all Night, and next Mor-  
 “ ning brought in the Reverend Prelates, Not Guilty.

Bishop's ac-  
 quitted,  
 June 30.  
 1688.

Never did the spacious Hall of *Westminster* ring  
 with louder Acclamations than upon this Occasion;  
 the lustning Throng catch'd the Not Guilty from  
 the Fore-Man, and repeated it so often, that the  
 King's Solicitor being offended at it, mov'd very  
 earnestly that such as had shouted in the Court  
 might be committed. Whereupon a Gentleman  
 of *Grays-Inn* was laid hold on, but soon after  
 discharg'd, with this short Reproof from the Chief  
 Justice:

office : Sir, I am as glad as you can be that my 1688.  
 Lords the Bishops are acquitted ; but your Manner of  
 rejoicing here is indecent ; you might rejoice in your  
 Chamber, or elsewhere, and not here. Nor did the  
 Cities of Westminster and London terminate the  
 Shouts that were rais'd upon the Bishops Acquital,  
 but they flew presently to *Hounslow-Heath*, where  
 the Soldiers in the Camp echo'd them so loud, that  
 it startled the King, who was that Day entertain'd  
 in the Earl of *Feversham's* Tent ; insomuch, that  
 His Majesty sent him out to know what was the  
 Matter ? The Earl being return'd, told the King  
 it was nothing but the Soldiers shouting upon the  
 News of the Bishops being Acquitted : *And do you*  
*call that nothing ?* (reply'd the King much dis-  
 compos'd) *But so much the worse for them,* added he.  
 Whatever His Majesty meant by these last Words,  
 the People could not forbear expressing their Joy ;  
 for notwithstanding the severe Prohibitions, Bon-  
 fires and Illuminations were made in *London*, and  
 throughout the Kingdom ; and indeed it was but  
 proper that lesser Lights should be kindled by all  
 good Protestants, upon the Restoration of the great  
 Luminaries of the Church to their proper Orbs.

While the Bishops Affair was depending, the  
 King sent Orders to Dr. *Hawkins* to read the De-  
 claration ; who refusing to obey, was immediately  
 Suspended : And tho' now those Reverend Pre-  
 lates were releas'd by Course of Law, yet were  
 they not altogether free from Danger, the King  
 threatning to deliver them up to the Ecclesiastical  
 Commissioners. His Majesty was, if I may use the  
 Expression, countenanc'd in these violent Methods  
 by the base Complaisance of some Bishops, who  
 instead of following the Example of their perse-  
 cuted Brethren, had publish'd and read the De-  
 claration, even after the Acquital of those Aposto-  
 lical Heroes. Nay, the Bishop of *Durham* carried  
 the Business so far, that he Suspended upon that  
 Account Thirty Ministers of his Diocess, and a-  
 mongst them one of his own Chaplains. Nine Curates,  
 Rectors, and others of the County of *Chester*, were  
 not contented to read the Declaration, but presen-

1688. ted likewise an Address, wherein they tell His Majesty, *That if the Matter of the Declaration were not according to their Wishes, yet the Publishing of it was according to their Duty, since it was issued out from the express Prerogative of his Supremacy over them; and they were requir'd by what is Statute-Law, the Rubrick of their Liturgy, to publish what was enjoined by the King or their Bishop, (whose Case herein was remarkable) as much as what is prescrib'd in the Rules of this Book; so that they could not but with Trouble of Mind hear of the Proceedings of the Seven Bishops, who, tho' they tenderly promis'd the Dissenters something, yet refused to do their part about the Declaration, lest they should be Parties to it, which Reason the Addressers esteem insufficient. Therefore they, in all Submission, become earnest, tho' too mean, Intercessors to His Majesty in Behalf of the Church of England, that the Faults of these and others may not be laid to her Charge, in whose Communion there were many and they hop'd there would be more, who concurr'd in promoting the Purposes of his mild Government; And so conclude with begging Leave to make their Congratulations for the happy Birth of the young Prince in his Hereditary Successive Kingdom. Now because 'twas by the Instigation of their Bishop that the Clergy of Chester had made this false Step, one of the Colledges of Oxford refus'd to admit the Son of that Prelate to a Fellowship that had been given him; and about the same time that famous University refus'd also to give the Degree of Doctor to Mr. Gifford, whom the King had nam'd to fill the vacant See of that City. Besides, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners having, by an Order made the 12th Day of July, commanded all Chancellors, Archdeacons, Commissaries and Officials, to enquire in what Churches and Chappels His Majesties Declaration was read, the Clergy finding this Court to be no better than a Popish Inquisition, the greatest part of those to whom the Order was directed, never took any Notice of it. The Commissioners being met on the 16th of August, were not a little puzzled what to do in this Matter: After a long Consultation, they were contented to repeat the*

same

same Order, requiring all Persons, having Ecclesi- 1688.  
astical Jurisdiction, to transmit to them upon the  
Sixth of December following, an Account of the In-  
quiry they are thereby Commanded to make in their The Bishop  
Visitations, together with the Names of the Parsons, of R-----  
Rectors, Vicars and Curates that had either obey'd iter excuses  
or disobey'd His Majesties Command. The Bishop himself  
of R-----ter finding by this Time the Drift of the from being  
Ecclesiastical Commission, thought it inconsistent an Ecclesi-  
with his Profession and Character to act any longer Commis-  
in it ; others would have it, that the Whispers of sioner.  
an Invasion from Holland open'd the Eyes of that  
Prelate ; whatever it was, he wrote a Letter to his  
Colleagues, desiring to be excused from sitting a-  
mongst them.

The Loss of the Bishop of R-----ter was look'd up-  
on as ominous to the Court, and his Letter, which  
was publish'd notwithstanding the Precautions that  
were taken to Suppress it, prov'd fatal to the  
Popish Cabal: For at the Assizes of Shrewsbury  
the Grand Jury presented several Roman Catholicks,  
and at another Place some Persons being accus'd  
before the Judges of making Bonfires upon the  
News of the Bishops Acquittal, the Judges were  
so far from regarding that unjust Prosecution, that  
on the contrary, they call'd the Magistrates to an  
Account for disturbing the Publick Rejoicings.

The News of the Bishops being Acquitted was The Army  
not the only Mortification the King receiv'd on Houn- refuses to  
slow-Heath: He consider'd how Difficult, if not Im- comply with  
possible, it was for him to execute his Designs with- the Popish  
out open Forces, and therefore to try how far he might Designs.  
depend upon his Army, he endeavour'd to make 'em  
Subscribe a Writing, whereby they should engage  
themselves to Contribute, as far as in them lay, to-  
wards the Repeal of the Test and Penal Laws. To  
effect this, it was thought fit to propose the thing  
to all the Regiments one by one ; not doubting but  
that if two or three did acquiesce, the rest would  
follow their Example. Accordingly the Major of  
Litchfield's Regiment was order'd to open His Ma-  
jesties Desire to that Battalion, and to Command  
all such as would not instantly comply therewith to  
lay down their Arms ; but he was not a little sur-  
priz'd

1688.

priz'd to find, that except two Captains and few *Popish* Soldiers, the whole Regiment obey'd the latter part of his Command. The King himself remain'd Speechless for a while; and having recover'd his Astonishment, Commanded them take up their Arms again adding; with a full discontented Look, *That for the future he would not do 'em the Honour to ask their Advice.* This Resolution of the Army is a Pregnant Proof of the free Spirit which Characterises an *English* Man, as also of the Abhorrence which all true Protestants have for Popery; since even Mercenary Soldiers who are \* mistakenly accounted to have little or no Religion, and to be altogether for Arbitrary Government, chose rather to expose themselves to Want, than be accessory to the enslaving of their Country, by countenancing the Despotick Designs of a *Popish* Prince. Nor were the Sea-Force more favourable to Popery; for the King having caus'd Masts to be laid aboard his Men of War, there happen'd so great a Disorder and Mutiny in the Fleet, that the Officers had much ado to keep the Priests from being thrown over-board.

\* Nulla fides  
Pietasque  
Viris  
qui Castra  
Sequuntur;  
says  
the Poet.

\* June the  
18th.

\* July 9.

The Birth  
of the  
Prince of  
Wales so-  
lemniz'd at  
the Hague.  
† July 17.

The Marquis d' *Albyville*, the King's Envoy at the *Hague*, communicated to the Prince and Princess of *Orange* the News of the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*, and at the same Time deliver'd to them His Majesties Letter; and the next Day he had an Audience from the States upon the same Account. Thereupon their Highnesses immediately \* dispatch'd the Heer of *Zuylestein* to Congratulate His Majesty, and order'd the Prince of *Wales* to be pray'd for in their Chappel; which however was soon after dis-  
byville \* celebrat  
ry Magnificence;  
charged; Four Fou  
several splendid T  
Distinction; and  
Light, the joyfu  
long'd by surprizi  
Some few Days a  
pared upon the sa  
Thomas, over again

of the whole Court, and the rest of the Spectators.

Altho' King *James* could not but perceive that the *Popish* Interest was declining ; yet having upon several Occasions declar'd that he would bring his Designs about, or Die a Martyr for his Religion, he displac'd Judge *Powell* and *Holloway* for having spoke their Thoughts a little too freely in Favour of the Seven Bishops ; 'tis said that the Disgrace of those two Judges, whose Uprightness was Exemplary, was chiefly occasion'd by the Peoples crying aloud in the Streets, after the Bishops Acquittal, *Long Live the Protestant Judges*. About the same Time the King settled a House for the Entertainment of two Hundred *Popish* Orphans, under the Direction of the *Benedictine Monks* of *St. James*, in Favour of the Prince of *Wales* ; who being carried by the Lady *Strickland*, his Governness, presented the King a Petition, in the Name of several Persons, who contributed towards the Maintainance of that Foundation.

All these Publick Attempts to introduce Popery did at last open the Eyes of all true Protestants, and rouse the greatest part of the Nation out of their Passive Lethargy ; I say the greatest part, because from the first Accession of King *James* to the Crown, many had foreseen, or at least fear'd, what afterwards did happen ; and to prevent the impending Danger, had already taken Measures with the Presumptive Heirs of the Crown. The Earl of *Macclesfield* withdrew into *Holland*, whilst whilst the Duke of *Monmouth* was yet preparing for his unfortunate Expedition ; and lest he should have the same Fate in *Holland* with Sir *Thomas Armstrong* ; he retir'd into *Germany*, from whence, however, he negotiated the Good of his Country.

Dr.  
iciously  
o since  
*Orange*,  
d, held  
well to  
re Illu-  
Mon-  
mbassa-  
he old  
Alliances

1688. Alliances between *England* and the States, had several Conferences with the chiefest *Protestant* Lords, in which however nothing was proposed to be attempted against King *James*, so long as he himself did not openly act against the Good of *England*, by favouring the growth of *Popery*, and the formidable Power of *France*. These were only preparatory Consultations to dispose the Minds of good Patriots to provide for the Security of the *Protestant* Religion, the Freedom of Parliaments, and the Liberties of *England*, by maintaining the Laws against Papists, and restraining the Lust of Arbitrariness in the King.

Preparations towards a Revolution.

Things being carried to Extreame, by the too forward Proceedings of King *James*, the Prince of *Orange* was earnestly solicited to prevent the total Ruin of *England*, on which that of all *Europe* inevitably depended. Some writ to him, others prest him more powerfully by their Presence, having cross't the Sea upon various Pretences. The Lord *Wharton*, tho' advanced in Years, took a Journey through *Holland* to *Germany*; Colonel *Sidney* (now Earl of *Rumney*, and Uncle to the Earl of *Sunderland*) went to the *Spaw*, giving it out, that 'twas only for the Benefit of the Waters; the Bishop of *London* still under Suspension, was not unactive in his Country Retirement, but held secret Correspondence with the busiest Men at the *Flague*; the Earl (now Duke) of *Devonshire*, who had an Indignity put upon him by Colonel *Culpeper*, and who out of Generosity had pardon'd the Colonel upon Condition that he should never appear in *Whitehall*, having afterwards met him in the King's Presence-Chamber, contrary to Agreement, could not forbear striking him on the Face, for which he was adjudg'd to pay a Fine of 30000 *l.* to His Majesty: This Lord did also invite the Prince of *Orange*; and by Degrees, the greatest part of the Lords implor'd his Highnesses Assistance against the growing Oppression. Some Zealous Gentlemen, particularly Mr. *Handen* and his Son, and the Lady *Sunderland*, a Woman of Subtle Wit, and Admirable Address, were privy to, and forwarded the whole Design. The Lord



*Dunblain* (now Marquis of *Carmarthen*) Son to the Earl of *Danby* (now Duke of *Leeds*) a brave bold-spirited Seaman, who Commanded an Independant Frigate, together with Mr. *Johnson*, and some others, crost and re-crost the Seas, to carry the Several Dispatches and Resolutions. Upon these Encouragements, the Prince of *Orange* engaged the States to make extraordinary tho', secret, Preparations towards the fitting out of a Fleet, and to take several Foreign Regiments into their Service.

Tho' his Highness had secur'd a Powerful Party in *England*, yet he thought it highly Necessary to enter into such Alliances in *Germany* as might countenance his Undertaking, and at the same Time cut off King *James* from all Foreign Succours. His Majesty had already made a Treaty with *Spain*, and upon that Score hop'd that the House of *Austria* would not join with those that should oppose his Designs, which tended chiefly to the Advantage of the *Roman Catholick Religion*; and as for *France*, tho' he had not enter'd into a positive League with that Crown, yet there was such a strict Amity and Correspondence between the two Courts, as amounted to a Solemn Confederacy. To deprive King *James* of these Supports, the Prince of *Orange* caus'd the Dutch to enter, and enter'd himself into the League of *Ausburgh* against *France*, thereby to bring all the Forces of the Confederates upon that Monarch, and keep him in Play, in case he should attempt to cross his intended Expedition, by turning his Arms against the *Hollanders*: On the other hand, he represented to the House of *Austria* the Ambitious Designs of the *French King*, and how easily he might make himself Universal Monarch, if he were supported by that Crown, which for these Five Hundred Years past has held the Ballance of *Europe*; adding, that 'twas not the Advancement of the *Romish Religion* which the King of *France* had in View, but rather the aggrandizing of his encroaching Power; since at the same Time that he persecuted his Protestant Subjects, and favour'd the growth of Popery in *England*, he countenanc'd Count *Teckeli*,  
and

1688.

Alliances made by the Prince of Orange, to Countenance his Design.

1688.

and had made a secret Alliance with the Turks. The Emperor and the King of *Spain* were to clear-sighted not to enter into these Reasons; and the rather, because the Endeavours of their Ministers to bring King *James* into the German League against *France* had prov'd Ineffectual. Among the rest, *Don Pedro de Ronquillo*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, a Person of all Foreigners that ever negotiated Publick Affairs in *England*, the best acquainted with our Constitution and Genius, made use of the most prevailing Arguments he could think of to engage him to break with *France*; assuring him that nothing could endear him more to his Protestant Subjects, nor more powerfully encline his Parliament to grant Ease to the Roman Catholics; but his Majesty was already so strongly united with *France*, that he answer'd the *Spanish* Ambassador: *That he would Faithfully observe the Alliance he had enter'd into with his Master; but that he was oblig'd as Religiously to Entertain the Amity that was betwix him and the King of France his near Relation; that he desir'd to Live in Peace with all his Neighbours, and would endeavour to Preserve it amongst 'em.* The Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* saw the Tendency of this unsatisfactory Answer, which dispos'd both the Emperor and his Catholick Majesty, to hearken to the Proposals that were made them by the Prince of *Orange*, not only against *Lewis*, but likewise against the King of *England*, his secret and devoted Allie.

*State of  
Affairs in  
Europe.*

That we may have a just Idea of the Greatness and Boldness of the Prince of *Orange's* Undertaking, 'tis necessary to set before our Eyes the Condition the Principal States of *Europe*, were in at that Time. The Emperor was still engag'd in a War with the Turks, which tho' Successfully carried on of late Years, had nevertheless almost quite exhausted his Coffers; *Spain* was a Consumptive Body, that wanted Spirits to keep up her sinking Vitals, much more to Revive and Support her distant Parts, as sufficiently appear'd by the Loss of *Luxemburgh*; *France* on the contrary was in a vigorous State of Health, abounding in Riches, and war-

war-

1688.

wanton'g in an extended absolute Power, maintain'd by a full Exchequer, numerous Armies, and experienc'd Generals; *Holland* was indeed flourishing, but the Peace she enjoy'd was precarious; and tho' in a Condition not to fear her Neighbours so long as her Forces were united; yet she could not spare so many of her Troops as were requisite for the Prince's Expedition, without leaving herself very much expos'd; On the other hand, the Disputes between the Imperial and *French* Ministers, about the Latter's fortifying of *Trairbaek*, foreboded no Good to the Empire; and the Death of the Archbishop of *Cologne*, which happen'd this Year, (*June 2d.*) manifestly tended to an open Rupture; Prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*, Brother to the Elector of that Name, and one of the two Candidates, being supported by *Germany*; and his Competitor, the Cardinal of *Furstemberg*, by the Crown of *France*. In this Nice Juncture of Affairs, the Prince of *Orange* form'd his grand Design, and under Pretence of the Business of *Cologne* assisted at an Interview, and long Conference held at *Minden* in *Westphalia*, between the Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, the Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, and the Princes of the House of *Lunenburgh*, wherein Measures were concerted both to restore *England* to its ancient Liberties, and to set Bounds to the growing Power of *France*.

Conferences  
atMinden,  
Aug. 26,

The suspected Birth of a Successor, and the Persecution of the Seven Bishops, put the finishing Stroke to the Design of rescuing *England* from Popery and Slavery; for these Prelates seriously reflecting on the imminent Danger, to which the Protestant Church and the whole Nation were now expos'd, writ to the Prince of *Orange* out of the Tower: The Earl (now Duke) of *S-----bary*, having quitted his Regiment of Horse, and mortgag'd his Estate for Forty Thousand Pounds Sterling, went over to the Prince, to offer him both his Sword and his Purse. He was follow'd by Admiral *Herbert*, (now Earl of *Torrington*) Mr. *Herbert* his Cousin, (now Lord *Herbert* of *Cberbary*) Mr. *Russel*, (now Earl of *Orford*) the Lord *Mordant*, (now

1688

(now Earl of *Peterborough*) the Marquis of *Worcester*, (now Duke of *Bolton*) and several other Persons of Distinction.

The Prince of *Orange* finding by this Time a general Concurrence in the *English* Nation to favour his Design, press'd vigorously the Equipping of a numerous Fleet. Count *d'Avaux*, the *French* Ambassador at the *Hague*, who kept a watchful Eye upon his Highness's Motions, grew jealous of these great Preparations, and discover'd from several convincing Circumstances, that they were intended against *England*, and gave Notice of it to the King his Master, from whom King *James* had the first certain and positive Intelligence. I say positive, because Mr. *Shelton*, whilst he was at the *Hague*, had intercepted a Letter, intimating that a great Project was secretly carried on against the King, of which he immediately gave an Account of to His Majesty, but the Court of *England* had been so often imposed upon by Sham-Plots, and frightened with false Alarms, that little heed was given to *Shelton's* Information. The King of *France* laid more Weight upon Count *D'Avaux's* Advice, and press'd King *James* to put himself in a Posture of Defence against the intended Invasion of his Kingdoms.

Much about the same Time Mr. *Shelton*, lately arriv'd at *Paris*, in Quality of Envoy Extraordinary, entertain'd a Correspondence with a certain Gentleman, who gave him a farther Light into the Business. This Gentleman was one *Baudet de Verace*, a Protestant of *Geneva*, Great Grand-Son to the famous *Budens*. (Library-keeper to *Francis I.* King of *France* ;)

*Dutch* Regiment, was Son of one of the first Life. The Earl of *Cornbury* had receiv'd whilst he studied at the Prince of *Orange* obtain'd *Verace's* Place of Gentleman in *Orange*. *Verace* being in Favour, screw'd his

and had a great Intimacy with Mr. Bentinck, his Favourite; but being suspected of betraying his Master's Designs against King James (which out of Gratitude to the Earl of Clarendon's Recommendation he thought himself oblig'd to do) or as others pretend, having reflected upon the Prince's having no Children by his Wife, he was turn'd out of his Place. He had not been long at Geneva, when upon the News of the great Preparations in Holland, he wrote to Skelton, then at Paris, That he had such things to Communicate to the King of England, as were of no less Concern than the Crown he wore, but that he would open his Secrets to none but the King himself, and that if His Majesty would let him know his Pleasure, he would immediately repair to England.

Upon this Advice from Verace, Skelton writ five or six Letters to the Court of England, in the same warm and pressing Stile as those were writ in, that were sent to his Master from the King of France. On the other hand, the Marquis of Albyville, the English Envoy at the Hague, was not wanting in his Duty, so that King James had sufficient Notice given him not to be surpriz'd; but 'twas late before he hearken'd to those Advices, and the following Reasons are given, why he did not hearken to 'em sooner. The Prince of Orange still continued so Dutiful to him, as to dissipate all manner of Suspicions. Myn Heer Citters, the Dutch Ambassador, upon the News of a great Armament in Holland, gave His Majesty to understand, that France had more Reason to be alarm'd at it than England; and besides, the King depending upon a numerous Army, and a great Fleet, disregarded the feeble Attempts of the Hollanders; at least, 'tis said, he was taught to disregard them by his prime Minister.

The Master I mean, was ~~S-----~~, a Man char'd cut out by Nature for a Politician, and endow'd ~~Her~~ of with a ready penetrating Wit, an extended ~~S-----~~ Forecast, and a sedate Spleen; a nice Observer, as well as subtil Flatterer of the Failings and Weaknesses of Princes; two Qualities that are able both

1688. to gain and keep an Ascendant over them, and an artful Dissembler of Injuries receiv'd. This L—— is by many accus'd to have been all along Unfaithful to King *James*, though there are others who justify his Conduct. I shall Historically relate all that is alledg'd for or against him on both sides, without presuming to give my Casting-Vote on so Critical a Question; Those who arraign the E——'s Fidelity, say, That he was a secret Enemy to King *James*, whom Policy, not Affection, had reconcil'd; That he had shew'd an extraordinary Warmth against him in the Business of the Bill of Exclusion, for which the Duke of *York* got him afterwards remov'd from his Place of S——ry of S——te; That he is a Man who always sides with the prevailing Party, though at the same time he manages a Resource with those that are under, in case of a Change; That he never courted the Duke of *York*'s Favour till he found that *Monmouth*'s Interest was declining; That whilst he was in with the *Exclusioners* he dextrously ingratiated himself with the *Dutchess of Portsmouth*, by whose Mediation he was soon admitted to the King's Favour, and by him reconcil'd to the Duke of *York*; That he was become Prime M——ster to the latter since his Accession to the Crown, by pretending to reveal the Secrets of the *Presbyterian* Cabal; That the better to advance the King's Ruin, he had flatter'd his Ambitious Designs, so long as no Body stood up to oppose him; But that as soon as he understood that a powerful Party was forming against the King, he had secur'd himself a Retreat by betraying His Majesties Councils; That his Lady kept a constant Correspondence with the Princess of *Orange*, and Monsieur *Bentinck*, by Means of Mr. *Felton* her Relation, and of several *French* Refugees whom she kept in Pay to carry Letters; That his Uncle, Colonel *Sney*, was gone over to the Prince, not without the E——'s Knowledge; That he feign'd to Embrace the *Papish* Religion, the better to serve the Protestants, and engag'd the King to admit Father *Peter* into the Privy-Council, to draw an odium upon both; That



That he favour'd and promoted underhand the Prosecution of the Bishops; That he obstinately rejected all the repeated Advices that were given him and the King of the Prince of *Orange's* Designs; and lastly, That he made His Majesty refuse the only Assistance that might have enabled him to baffle the Enterprises of his Enemies.

Those who justify the E—, alledge, That the Rule is not so general, but that a reconcil'd Enemy may become a real Friend; That a Man may maintain a Resource in a Party without embracing it; That from the beginning he Faithfully serv'd King *James*, as became a Protestant Subject; That he opposed the King's assuming a Dispensing Power; That though he acted in the Ecclesiastical Commission, yet for a good while he defended *Magdalen-Colledge*; That he was against the dissolving of the Parliament; That he so openly oppos'd the Prosecution of the Bishops, That he expos'd himself to the Fury of the *Popish* Party; and though he feign'd himself a *Roman* Catholick to prevent his immediate Ruin, yet did he still continue to be the Object of their Hatred; That there are no Proofs of his entertaining any Private or Treasonable Correspondences with His Majesties Enemies; That his Wife's holding a suspicious Intelligence with the Princess of *Orange*, is not a sufficient Reason to render the Husband Criminal; That Colonel *Sidney*, though his near Relation might have deceiv'd him, as he did others, and make him believe that he went to the *Span* only for the sake of the Waters; That his owning he chang'd his Religion to serve the Protestants, is rather an Excuse to them, than a Proof of his being Privy to their Designs; since no Man needs make Excuses to those with whom he has already concerted Measures; That his introducing Father *Pierre* into the Council, was only a prudential and allowable piece of Policy, to bring upon the *French* all the Odium of the People, for the irregular Conduct of the Court; That the Prince of *Orange's* Undertakings against a King, that had a



1688. Powerful Force both by Sea and Land, seem'd so Extraordinary, not to say Extravagant, to every Body, that not knowing how to give Credit to it, he did not think himself oblig'd to lay any weight upon *Skelton's* Informations; And that upon the News of the Prince's coming, he advis'd His Majesty to call a free Parliament, and to depend upon that, rather than upon any Foreign Assistance, which was not only Unnecessary, but also most dangerous. According to the E--- of S----- Advice, the King declar'd in Council, \* that in pursuance of his late Declaration, he intended to call a Parliament to meet the 27th of *November* next, and directed the Chancellor to issue out Writs upon the Fifth of *September* following. Whereupon all imaginable Industry was us'd to compleat the Regulation of Corporations.

Design of  
calling a  
Parliament,  
August 24.

The King of *France* and the *English* Envoy at his Court, did so earnestly renew their informations of the Prince of *Orange's* certain Designs to Invade *England*, that *Skelton* was at last Com-manded to send for *Verace*, and to return his most Christian Majesty Thanks for his good Offices. Accordingly *Skelton* writ to *Verace*, who by this Time having chang'd his Mind, refus'd to comply with the King's Desire; or so much as to meet *Skelton* at *Chambery*, a City of *Savoy*, not above a Day's Journey from *Geneva*, through which that Envoy was to pass in his Way to *Italy*. As for the *French* King, he thought he could not meet with a fairer Opportunity to engage King *James* in an Offensive and Defensive League, than the present dangerous Condition of his Affairs, and therefore he immediately dispatch'd to him Monsieur *De Bonrepos*, to offer him Thirty Thousand of his Men.

*Bonrepos's* unexpected Arrival, and his frequent Conferences with the Ministers of State, in Con-junction with Monsieur *Barillon* the *French* Amba-sador, gave Jealousie to *Don Pedro de Ronquillo*, who thereupon frankly told the Lord S----- that his Business must be either *Publick* or *Private*: That if it was the latter, he had nothing to say

to it; but if the former, he desir'd to be made acquainted with it, or else those whom it might concern, would be at Liberty to think what they thought fit about it, and take their Measures accordingly. The Reason of this Expostulation was this: Two Days before, *Ronquillo* being with King *James*, His Majesty told him, that *Bonrepos* had assured him that there was a Treaty very near concluded betwixt his Master and the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, whereby the *Spanish* Ambassador reasonably conjectur'd that *France*, the better to draw *England* into an Alliance, had made a shew of her Treaties with other Princes: His Conjecture prov'd true: A Treaty was actually on Foot betwixt *France* and *England*, and it was reported to be so far advanc'd, that 'twould be impossible to prevent its Conclusion. 'Twas added, that the Court of *France*, in order to facilitate this Negotiation, had industriously spread the Report of the Prince of *Orange's* Designs, or at least exaggerated the Greatness of his Armament, that King *James* might not think himself safe without foreign Assistance; and indeed the Ministers of the House of *Austria* were given to understand, that what the King did was only to secure himself against the *Hollanders*. But *Ronquillo* not being satisfied with this Declaration, demanded a private Audience, which was granted. He was two long Hours in close Conference with the King, and having assur'd him that the *Dutch* had no Design upon *England*; he represented to him the fatal Consequences of his entering into an Alliance with *France*, and how ill it would sound in the Nation, that whilst he pretended to call a free Parliament, he should introduce foreign Troops into the Kingdom.

*His Negotiation is cross'd by the Spanish Ambassador, &c.*

The King own'd to the *Spanish* Ambassador, that the sending of *Bonrepos*, at that Juncture, was the most unfriendly Turn that the *French* King could have done him; That he wish'd it had been in his Power to send him back the next Day after his Arrival; but since in good Manners, he could not do that, however he would give him

1688.

him but small Encouragement to stay; and at the same Time his Majesty assur'd *Ronquillo*, he had much rather entertain a good Correspondence with *Holland*, than be thought to have a strict Alliance with *France*. Thereupon the *Spanish* Ambassadeur took his Leave, hugging himself with the Success of his Audience, though 'tis certain that S— contributed much more than he to the Refusal of the *French* King's Offers, which some of the *Popish* Cabal were for accepting. *Barreper* finding his Master's Officiousness ill receiv'd, set out for *France* on the 4th of *September*.

Things being at this pass, the *English* Envoy at the *Hague* was order'd to Demand of the States-General what they meant by their great and surprising Warlike Preparations both by Sea and Land at that Time of the Year, when all Operations, especially those at Sea, use to cease? To which the States made Answer, that they arm'd in Imitation of his *Britannick* Majesty, and might with more Reason Demand an Eclaircissement about the Alliance he was lately enter'd into. This bold Answer, which at another Time might have occasion'd a Rupture, was now left without Reply: However as it increas'd the Suspicions of an Invasion, so all imaginable Methods were taken to provide against it: The Chief Ports, and particularly *Portsmouth* and *Hull*, the two Keys of *England*, were put into *Popish* Hands, and the Garisons so modell'd, that the Majority were *Papists*.

The *French* Court was both surpriz'd and concern'd at the Miscarriage of Monsieur *Barreper's* Negotiation: *Skelton* was over and over teaz'd by People, who expostulated with him his Master's not following his Advice. It happen'd one Day that Monsieur *de Croissy* being in earnest Discourse with Mr. *Skelton* concerning the then State of Affairs in *England*, *Skelton* answer'd, He had no further Orders, and durst not intermeddle any more: but added withal, that he believ'd if the most Christian King would direct his Ambassador at the *Hague*, to declare to the States how nearly he interest'd himself in the Affairs of his *Britannick* Ma-

Majesty, and threatned to Attack them, in Case 1688.  
they attempted any thing against him, that he  
would quickly put a Stop to their Preparations,  
and thereby break the Measures both of the Prince  
of *Orange*, and of the Protestant Cabals in *England*.  
Mr. *de Croissy* took the Hint presently, and no soon-  
er acquainted the King with it, but he sent Orders  
to the Count *D' Avaux* to declare to the States, Count  
“ That the sincere Desire the King, his Master, D' Avaux  
“ had to maintain the Tranquility of *Europe*, Memorial  
“ would not suffer His Majesty to see the great to the  
“ Preparations for War, both by Sea and Land, States,  
“ made by their Lordships, without taking the Sept. 9.  
“ Measures, that Prudence, (the continual Com- 1688.  
“ panion of all his Actions) inspired him with,  
“ to prevent the Mischiefs these Warlike Prepara-  
“ tions would certainly draw after them. And  
“ although the King, being persuaded of the Wis-  
“ dom of their Counsels, could not imagine that  
“ a free State should so easily resolve to take up  
“ Arms, and to kindle a War, which at the pre-  
“ sent Juncture could not but be fatal to all  
“ *Christendom*; Nevertheless His Majesty could not  
“ believe their Lordships would engage themselves  
“ in so great Expences, both at Home and Abroad,  
“ to entertain in Pay so many Foreign Troops, to  
“ put to Sea so numerous a Fleet so late in the  
“ Year, and to prepare so great Magazines, if they  
“ had not a Design form'd, answerable to the  
“ greatness of these Preparations. That all these  
“ Circumstances enclin'd the King, his Master, to  
“ believe with Reason, that this arming threatned  
“ *England*, wherefore His Majesty had Command-  
“ ed him to declare to them, on his Part, that the  
“ Ties of Friendship and Alliance between him  
“ and the King of *Great-Britain*, would oblige  
“ him not only to Assist him, but also to look on  
“ the first Act of Hostility that should be com-  
“ mitted by their Troops, or their Fleet, a-  
“ gainst His Majesty of *Great-Britain*, to be  
“ a manifest Rupture of the Peace with his  
“ Crown.

1688.

*Found  
by King  
James*

*Skelton  
committed  
to the  
Tower.*

The States-General not only return'd no Answer to the *French Memorial*, but charg'd the Heer *Van Citters*, their Ambassador, to complain thereof to the Court of *England*; whereupon a Council was held, wherein it was resolv'd to Disown Count *D'Avaux's* Proceedings. This Resolution the Earl of *Middleton*, Secretary of State, immediately communicated to Mr. *Van Citters*; the King's Ministers at the *Hague*, *Brussels*, and *Madrid*, were order'd to Declare, that the *French Memorial* was presented without either His Majesties Knowledge or Apprehension; *Skelton* was recall'd, and was no sooner arriv'd, but he was committed Prisoner to the *Tower* for trespassing his Instructions, and discovering his Master's Secrets. About this Time the Dauphin of *France* began his Campaign in the *Palatinate*, and laid the Siege to *Philipsburgh*.

King *James*, that he might put the greater Confidence in his Troops, thought fit to fill them with as many *Papists* as could be procur'd; and accordingly several *Irish* Officers and Soldiers were put into the Duke of *Berwick's* Regiment. This was vigorously oppos'd by the Lieutenant Colonel *Beaumont*, and other Officers; the former in the Name of the rest, declaring to the Duke, *That he was desir'd by those Gentlemen (with whose Sence he concurr'd) to inform his Grace, That they did not think it consistent with their Honours, to have Foreigners imposed upon them, without being complain'd of, that their Companies were weak, or Orders had been sent to recruit them; not doubting but if such Orders had been given, they that first, in very ill Times, rais'd them Hundreds, could easily now have made them according to the King's Complement. Therefore they humbly petition'd they might have Leave to fill up their Companies with such Men of this Nation they should judge most suitable for the King's Service, and to support their Honours; or otherwise that they might be permitted, with all imaginable Duty and Respect, to lay down their Commissions. An Account of this (as also of a Serjeant and Eighteen private Sentinels leaving their Colours upon the same Score) was forthwith transmitted to His Majesty, then at Windsor,*

for, who fearing the spreading of this Example, 1688. immediately commanded a Party of Horse down to *Portsmouth*, to bring up into Custody Lieutenant Colonel *Beaumont*, Captain *Paston*, and Four other Protestant Captains; and a Court-Martial was appointed to Officers proceed against 'em as Mutineers. If the French cashier'd, Ambassador's Memorial had not come in that Sept. 10. very Morning, to shew the Danger the Popish Party 1688. was in, some of these Officers would, in all Probability, have lost their Lives: But now the Court was contented to cashier 'em. About a Month before another Captain that was quarter'd at *Scarborough*, caus'd the Mayor of that Town, tho' a Man devoted to the Court, to be tofs'd in a Blanket, ket by his Soldiers, for being sawcy to him; which Aug. 12. Indignity the King did not think fit to punish at 1688. this Juncture. For now the Whispers of the Prince of *Orange's* coming began to revive the Spirits of the Nation; insomuch, that the Bishops of *Ely*, *Bristol*, and *Rochester*, caution'd the People of their Diocesses from the very Pulpit, against the Repeal of the Penal Laws and Tests, in the ensuing Parliament.

The King having by this time receiv'd so many concurring Advices from the *Hague*, as amounted to a moral Demonstration of the Prince of *Orange's* Designs, the fitting out of the Fleet was carried on with redoubled Diligence; Commissions were giving out for augmenting the Army; Orders dispatch'd to *Tyrconnel* for sending over whole Regiments out of *Ireland*; and *Barillon* the French Ambassador made a Proposal, which those who wish'd well to the Prince were in great Fear the Court should accept; viz. that *France* should abandon the Design of besieging *Philipsburgh*, and carry the War into *Holland*. Four or Five of the Council approv'd this Overture, but others warmly oppos'd it, alledging, That such a Violation of former Treaties with *Holland* would be sufficient to raise the Clamours of the whole Nation, and to alienate the Minds of all the English Protestants from His Majesty. This Suggestion being most plausible, did not miss of its Effect: For it must be observ'd, [that

1688. that those who favour'd the Prince's Expedition had been very industrious in spreading a Report, that the *Dutch* Armament was only design'd to hinder the *French* from landing in *England*, where in Pursuance of a secret Treaty made with King *James*, they were to extirpate the Protestant Religion. To dissipate the Jealousies of the People, a Proclamation was issued \* out, importing, *That His Majesty having already signified his Pleasure to call a Parliament, lest those whose Right it was to chuse Members, should lye under any Prejudice and Mistakes, thro' the Artifices of disaffected Persons, be thought fit to declare, That it was his Royal Purpose to endeavour a legal Establishment of an Universal Liberty of Conscience for all his Subjects; That it was also his Resolution inviolably to preserve the Church of England, by such a Confirmation of the several Acts of Uniformity, that they should never be alter'd any other Ways than by repealing the several Clauses, which inflict Penalties upon Persons not promoted, or to be promoted to any Ecclesiastick Benefices within the Meaning of the said Acts, for exercising their Religion, contrary to the Purport of the said Acts of Uniformity: And that for the further securing, not only the Church of England, but the Protestant Religion in general, He was willing the Roman Catholicks should remain incapable to be Members of the House of Commons, whereby those Fears and Apprehensions would be remov'd, which many Persons had had, That the Legislative Authority would be ingross'd by them, and turn'd against Protestants.* This Proclamation was so ambiguously worded as to the Repeal of the Penal Laws, the Confirming the Acts of Uniformity, and the Excluding of the *Papists* from the lower House only, that it occasion'd several Disputes, and had but little Effect.

\* Sept. 21.

Upon the Arrival of the Marquis of *Albyville's* Steward, who brought certain News of the embarking of several Regiments on board the *Dutch* Fleet, the Command of the Army was first offer'd to the Count de *Roy*, an experienc'd *French* General, and an Exile for his Religion, upon whose excusing of himself, it was bestow'd on the Earl of *Fever-*



*Faversham*; but however, in case of a Descent the King design'd to head his Army himself, and the Queen, with the Prince of *Wales*, were to retire to *Portsmouth*, a well-fortified Sea-Port Town, of which the Duke of *Berwick* was Governor. The Command of the Fleet, which consisted of about 44 Men of War, was given to the Lord *Dartmouth*; the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of *London* were order'd to prevent the spreading of false News, and to keep the City quiet; and Two or Three Bishops were offer'd Places in the Privy-Council, which they refus'd to accept, upon account of the Papists that sat there. Besides these Precautions at home, it was resolv'd in the Council, that the Marquis d'*Albyville* should be order'd, to represent to the States-General, That altho' His Majesty had believ'd, that what he had already declar'd to their Ambassador in England, and the Orders he had given to him upon the same Subject, might have satisfied their Lordships, that there was no other Treaty between His Majesty and the most Christian King, than those that were publick, and in print; yet since a great deal of Artifice and Industry had been made use of to make the World believe that His Majesty was entred into other Treaties and Alliances with the most Christian King, His Majesty, to shew the great Regard he had to the Friendship and Alliances, which were between him and their Lordships, and his Desire to continue the same, had commanded him, (his Envoy Extraordinary) to assure their Lordships, that there was no other Treaty between him and France, than those that were publick: And farther, that as His Majesty extreamly desir'd the Preservation of the Peace and Repose of Christendom, so he would be also glad to take such Measures with their Lordships, as might be most convenient for maintaining the Peace of *Nimeguen*, and the Truce of 20 Years concluded in 1684. Some Members of the Council were against the presenting of this Memorial, it being now preposterous, and exposing the King's Honour: but the Majority were not only for it, but mov'd besides, that the Lord *Godolphin* and the Bishop of *Win-*

Marquis  
d'Alby-  
ville's Me-  
morial to  
the States,  
Sept. 25.  
Oct. 5.

1688. *Winchester* should be sent to *Holland* to back which last Motion fell. As for the States, took no Notice of the King's Offers, but sent the Prince of *Orange* to go on with the shipping of his Men.

*Certain News of the P. of Orange's Design.*

*The King's Consternation.*

*He has Recourse to the Bishops.*

The next News the King receiv'd from his voy at the *Hague*, was, that the Pensioner had frankly own'd to him the Prince's Design, adding, that if the *Dutch* Ambassador in *England* had said any thing to the contrary, he had done out of his own Head, and without Orders. At the same time the Marquis d' *Albyville* acquainted His Majesty that several *English* Lords and Gentlemen had already cross'd the Sea, and lurk'd in *Holland* ready to accompany the Prince in his Expedition. Upon the reading of this Letter the King remain'd speechless, and, as it were, thunder-struck. The airy Castle of a Dispensing Arbitrary Power rais'd by the Magick Spells of Jesuitical Councils vanish'd away in a moment, and the deluded Monarch, freed from his Incantment by the Approach of the Prince of *Orange*, found himself on the Brink of a Precipice, whilst all his intoxicating Flatterers stood amaz'd and confounded at a distance, without daring to offer him a supporting Hand, lest his greater Weight should hurry both him and them into the Abyss. In this Extremity the entering Prince, whom the Presence of the Danger had render'd clear-sighted, espied the best Prop of the *English* Monarchy, I mean the Bishops, and endeavour'd to lay hold on that. The Bishop of *Ely*, who had lost the King's good Graces for siding with his petitioning Brethren, was now restor'd to his pristine Favour, and employ'd to manage a Reconcilement between His Majesty and the rest of the Prelates that were then in *London*. Accordingly the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Chichester*, *Peterborough*, *Rochester*, *Ely*, and *Bath and Wells*, waited upon His Majesty, who having receiv'd them with extraordinary Marks of Favour and Kindness, told them, that he desir'd the Assistance of their Councils in this present Exigency; assuring them, that he was ready to do whatever they should think necessary for

1688.

for the Security of the Protestant Religion, and of his People's Rights, without derogating from his own Prerogatives. The Bishops answer'd the King's Confidence in them, by Expressions of their Duty and Loyalty to His Majesty, and would have given him more particular Proofs of their Zeal for his Service, had not the King told them that he was not then at leisure, and therefore desir'd them to consult together about so weighty a Matter; whereupon they took their Leaves. A little while after, the King presented the Bishop of *Winchester* to the Queen, telling her he was a very honest Man: Whereupon Her Majesty, who now endeavour'd to cast off her Imperiousness, took notice of him with an affected smiling Look.

In the mean time, to prepossess the People against the Prince of *Orange*, a Proclamation was issued out, setting forth, *That His Majesty had receiv'd undoubted Advice, that a great and sudden Invasion from Holland, with an armed Force of Foreigners, would speedily be made in an hostile Manner; and altho' some false Pretences relating to Liberty, Property and Religion, contriv'd or worded with Art and Subtilty, might be given out, it was manifest however, that no less Matter by this Invasion was propos'd, than an absolute Conquest of these His Majesties Kingdoms, and the utter subduing and subjecting him, and all his People, to a foreign Power; which was promoted by some of His Majesties Subjects, being Persons of wicked and restless Spirits, implacable Malice, and desperate Designs; who having no Sense of the Misery of former intestine Divisions, nor being mov'd by His Majesties reiterated Acts of Mercy, did again endeavour to imbroil this Kingdom in Blood and Ruin, to gratifie their own Ambition and Malice, proposing to themselves a Prey and Booty in such a publick Confusion. That tho' His Majesty had notice, that a foreign Force was preparing against him, yet he had always declin'd any foreign Succours, but rather had chosen to relye upon the true and ancient Courage, Faith and Allegiance of his own People, with whom he had often ventured his Life for the Honour of this Nation, and in whose Defence against all Enemies he was firmly resolv'd*

*Proclamation against the P. of Orange's Invasion, Sept. 28.*

1688. *resolv'd to live and die: And therefore His Majesty solemnly conjur'd his Subjects to lay aside all manner of Animosities, Jealousies and Prejudices, and heartily and chearfully to unite together, in the Defence of him and their native Country. That albeit the Design had been carried on with all imaginable Secrecy, and Endeavours to surprize and deceive His Majesty, yet he had not been wanting on his Part; to make such Provision as did become him, and made no doubt of being found in so good a Posture, that His Enemies might have Cause to repent their rash and unjust Attempts. In the Conclusion His Majesty declar'd, That he did intend to have met His Parliament in November next; and that the Writs were issued forth accordingly, proposing to himself, amongst other things, that he might be able to quiet the Minds of all his People in Matters of Religion, but that in regard of this strange Attempt; design'd to divert his said gracious Purposes, he found it necessary to recall his said Writs.*

*Writs for  
the meet-  
ing of a  
Parliament  
stop.*

*A general  
Pardon,  
Oct. 2.*

Besides this Proclamation, the Court us'd all possible Means to regain the Affection and Confidence of the Church of England. The Bishop of London's Suspension was taken off, Sir John Chapman, a Church-man, was nam'd to succeed Sir John Eyles, the present Lord-Mayor of London, who was an Anabaptist; the Duke of Ormond had a Garter bestow'd on him, which perhaps he would never have obtain'd from this King, but for the Fears of an Invasion; and a general Pardon was publish'd, from out of which Sir Robert Payton, Sir Rowland Gwin, Dr. Burnet, Samuel Johnson, Oates, Ferguson, and Eleven more, were excepted; which nevertheless, had little or no Effect; for ill-timed and forc'd Amnesties do rather argue a Prince's Weakness than his Clemency.

On the Third Day of October the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London, Winchester, St. Asaph, Ely, Chichester, Rochester, Bath and Wells, and Peterborough, waited upon the King, and the Archbishop address'd himself to His Majesty in this manner.

*May*

May it please Your Majesty,

1688.

“ **W**HEN I had lately the Honour to wait  
 “ upon you, you were pleas’d briefly to ac-  
 “ quaint me with what had pass’d Two Days before  
 “ between your Majesty, and these my Reverend  
 “ Brethren : By which, and by the Account which  
 “ they themselves gave me, I perceiv’d, that in  
 “ truth, there pass’d nothing, but in very general  
 “ Terms and Expressions of your Majesties graci-  
 “ ous and favourable Inclinations to the Church of  
 “ *England*, and of our reciprocal Duty and Loyalty  
 “ to your Majesty : Both which were sufficiently  
 “ understood and desir’d before, and (as one \* of my \* *The Bi-*  
 “ Brethren then told you) would have been in *shop of Bath*  
 “ the same State, if the Bishops had not stirr’d one *and Wells.*  
 “ Foot out of their Diocesses. Sir, I found it griev’d  
 “ my Lords the Bishops to have come so far, and  
 “ to have done so little ; and I am assur’d they  
 “ came then prepar’d to have given your Majesty  
 “ some more particular Instances of their Duty  
 “ and Zeal for Your Service, had they not appre-  
 “ hended from some Words which fell from your  
 “ Majesty, that you were not then at Leisure to  
 “ receive them. It was for this Reason that I then  
 “ besought your Majesty to command us once  
 “ more to attend you all together, which your Ma-  
 “ jesty was pleas’d graciously to allow and en-  
 “ courage. We therefore are here now before you,  
 “ with all Humility, to beg your Permission, that  
 “ we may suggest to your Majesty such Advices as  
 “ we think proper at this Season, and conducing  
 “ to your Service, and so leave them to your  
 “ princely Consideration.

The King was no more that rough and untracta-  
 ble Monarch, who Four Months before answer’d *The Bishops*  
 the petitioning Bishops, *That he expected to be obey-* *Advice to*  
*ed:* For now being, as it were, transform’d, into *the King:*  
 another Prince, and taught Docility by the pres-  
 sing Danger, he graciously permitted the Arch-  
 bishop to proceed, which he did, by advising His  
 Majesty ; “ 1. To put the whole Management of  
 “ his Government, in the several Counties, into  
 the

1688.



“ the Hands of such of the Nobility and Gentry  
 “ there, as were legally qualified for it. II. To  
 “ annul his Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs.  
 “ III. That no Dispensation might be granted or  
 “ continued, by Virtue whereof any Person not  
 “ duly qualified by Law, had been or might be  
 “ put into any Place, Office or Preferment, in  
 “ Church or State, or in the Universities, or con-  
 “ tinued in the same; and in particular, that he  
 “ would restore the President and Fellows of St.  
 “ *Mary-Magdalen Colledge in Oxford*. IV. To set  
 “ aside all Licenses, by which any Persons of the  
 “ *Romish* Communion might pretend to be ena-  
 “ bled to teach publick Schools. V. To desist  
 “ from the Exercise of his Dispensing Power, and  
 “ to permit that Point to be freely and calmly de-  
 “ bated, and finally settled in Parliament. VI. To  
 “ inhibit the Four Foreign Bishops, who stild  
 “ themselves *Vicars Apostolical*, from further inva-  
 “ ding the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, which is by  
 “ Law vested in the Bishops of the Church of Eng-  
 “ land. VII. To fill the vacant Bishopricks, and  
 “ other Ecclesiastical Promotions within his Gift,  
 “ both in *England* and *Ireland*, with Men of  
 “ Learning and Piety; and in particular (which  
 “ the Archbishop own'd to be his Peculiar Bold-  
 “ ness, for 'twas done without the Privy of his  
 “ Brethren) to fill the *Archiepiscopal Chair of York*,  
 “ (*which had so long stood empty, and upon which a*  
 “ *whole Province depends*) with some very worthy Per-  
 “ son; for which he was bold to say, His Majesty  
 “ had then before him a very fair Choice. VIII. To  
 “ supersede all farther Prosecution of *Qu-War-*  
 “ *ranto's* against Corporations, and to restore to  
 “ them their ancient Charters and Privileges; as  
 “ they heard God had put into his Heart to do for  
 “ the City of *London*, which they intended to have  
 “ made otherwise one of their principal Requests.  
 “ IX. That Writs might be issued out with con-  
 “ venient speed for the calling of a free and regu-  
 “ lar Parliament, in which the Church of *England*  
 “ might be secur'd, Provision might be made for  
 “ a *due Liberty of Conscience*, and for securing  
 “ the

“ the Liberties and Properties of all his Subjects,  
 “ and a mutual Confidence might be establish’d  
 “ between His Majesty and all his People. X. A.  
 “ bove all, that His Majesty would be pleas’d to  
 “ permit his Bishops to offer him such Motives  
 “ and Arguments, as (they trusted) might, by  
 “ God’s Grace, be effectual to perswade His Ma-  
 “ jesty to return to the Communion of the  
 “ Church of *England*, into whose most holy Ca-  
 “ tholick Faith he was baptiz’d. Which last  
 Point the Archbishop afterwards enforc’d in a  
 private Conference with the King, by a Discourse  
 full of convincing Arguments, and which favour’d  
 of the Liberty and Inspiration of the Primitive A-  
 postles. But Popery had taken too deep Root in  
 the Royal Breast.

These Proposals could not but sound harsh to  
 the King’s Ear, but the Necessity of his Affairs  
 oblig’d him not only to conceal his Discontent;  
 but also to comply with most of them. The  
 Commission for Causes Ecclesiastical was \* dissolv’d; \* Oct. 5:  
 Chancellor *Jefferies*, that ow’d his Preferment,  
 among the rest of his Miscarriages, to the robbing  
 the City of *London* of their Charter, was forc’d  
 now to † carry it back again from whence it was † Oct. 6:  
 taken; the Lords Lieutenants of the several Coun-  
 ties were \* required to inform themselves of the \* Oct. 10:  
 Abuses and Irregularities committed in the late  
 Regulations of the Corporations; the Bishop of  
*Winchester*, Visitor of *St. Mary Magdalen* in *Oxford*,  
 was † order’d to settle that Society regularly and † Oct. 12:  
 statubly; A Proclamation was issued \* out for resto- \* Oct. 17:  
 ring Corporations to their ancient Charters, Li-  
 berties, Rights and Franchises; the Earl of *Darby*  
 was made † Lord Lieutenant of the Counties of † Oct. 17:  
*Chester* and *Lancaster*; the Earl of *Oxford* Lord  
 Lieutenant of *Essex*; \* and the Earl of *Feverham* \* Oct. 20:  
 Lord Lieutenant of *Kent*; *Popish* Justices of the  
 Peace, Mayors, Records, and other Magistrates;  
 were displaced, and Protestants put in their rooms;  
 so that in the space of Twelve Days that stupendi-  
 ous Fabrick was pull’d down, which the *Ramish*  
 Cabal had been Four Years in Raising.



1688. However, it soon appear'd how little the Nation was to depend upon those hasty and forc'd Concessions of King *James*. On the 16th of *October* the Bishop of *Winchester* caus'd a Citation to be fix'd on the Gate of *Magdalen-Colledge*, to recal *Dr. Hough*, and the former Fellows of that Society, by the 2d of *November* following; but an Account coming that very Post, that the *Dutch Fleet* had suffer'd very much in a Storm, and that they would hardly be able to put to Sea again till the Spring, the Bishop, upon a frivolous Pretence, was recall'd to *London*, and the Restoration of the Colledge deferr'd. Yet soon after, that false News being contradicted, and the *Dutch Fleet* reported to be in a sailing Posture, the Affection to the Church of *England* reviv'd, and to the Business of the Colledge was effected on the 24th of the said Month. This Passage is the more remarkable, because it lost King *James* abundance of Friends: And indeed nothing lessens so much the Character and Interest of a Prince, as his playing fast and loose with his People.

The Consternation was not so great at Court, but that they were in Hopes to render the Prince of *Orange's* Designs abortive; for which Purpose the Lord *Dartmouth* was dispatch'd to Sea with Orders to wait the *Dutch Fleet* off of *Ostend*, and chiefly to fall upon the Transport-Ships, if he saw them steer their Course towards *England*. The Duke of *Newcastle*, the Earls of *Lindsey*, *Darby*, *Danby*, *Pembroke*, *Westmorland*, *Ailesbury*, *Burlington*, Viscount *Faulconberge*, the Lord *Jermyn*, and some few more of the Nobility, offer'd their Services to His Majesty. Whereupon the King gave Commissions to the Duke of *Newcastle*, to raise a Regiment of Foot; to the Lord *Brandon*, Son to the Earl of *Macclesfield*, and to the Marquis *de Miremont*, Nephew to the Earl of *Feversham*, each a Regiment of Horse; to Colonel *Henry Gage*, and Colonel *Solomon Richards*, Two Regiments of Foot, and many independant Troops and Companies to several others of the Nobility and Gentry; the Duke of *Ormond* offer'd to serve as Volunteer in the Army,

Army, and was to be accompanied by the Lieutenant Colonel and Captains that had lately been cashier'd out of the Duke of Berwick's Regiment; the Trained Bands of the City of London, and the Country Militia, were order'd to be in Readiness to march; the Duke of Gourdon, a Roman Catholick, was sent to Scotland to put that Kingdom in a Posture of Defence; the Duke of Grafton (who was a little discontented, because he did not command the Fleet) was made Governour of the Tower (*pro Tempore*) instead of Sir Edward Hales, a Roman Catholick; Two Thousand and Five Hundred Men arriv'd at Chester out of Ireland, and 3000 at Carlisle out of Scotland; Skelton having been Eighteen Days in the Tower, was set at Liberty, and had a Regiment of Foot given him; a Proclamation was publish'd \*, Commanding all Lieutenants, Deputy \* Oct. 20 Lieutenants, Sheriffs, and other Officers, Civil and Military, in the respective Counties, Cities, &c. to cause the Coasts to be carefully watch'd, and upon the first Approach of the Enemy, to cause all Horses, Oxen and Cattel, which might be fit for Burthen or Draught, and not actually employ'd in the Service and Defence of His Majesty and the Country, to be driven and remov'd to the space, at least, of Twenty Miles, from the Places where the Enemy should attempt to land: And besides all these humane Precautions, extraordinary Prayers of Forty Hours were said in the King's Chappel, where the Popish Host was expos'd. But because the Mob was now spirited with the News of the Prince's coming, and insulted the other Popish Chappels, His Majesty caus'd them to be shut up. The Jesuits and Romish Priests perceiving the gathering Storm, began to fly for a Shelter beyond Sea.

In the midst of these ominous Distractions the Prince of blinded Roman Catholicks carried on the Shew of Wales the Prince of Wales, and the Child, which was named, Oct. before christned, was upon the 15th of October, 15. in the Chappel at St. James's, solemnly nam'd, JAMES, FRANCIS, EDWARD, the Pope, represented by his Nuncio, being Godfather, and the Queen-Dowager, Godmother. About this time a Pamphlet was distributed in Holland, entitled, A

1688. *Memorial of the English Protestants, presented to Their Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Orange, and suppos'd to be written by Dr. Burnet, wherein after a long Particular of the Grievances of the Nation, the Author complains of King James's obliging his Subjects to own a suppos'd Child for Prince of Wales; adding, His Majesty would never suffer the Witnesses that were present at the Queen's Delivery to be heard and examin'd. This Pamphlet being transmitted to the King, upon the 22d of October His Majesty held an extraordinary Council, and having sent for the Queen-Dowager, and all such Peers, Spiritual and Temporal, as were then in Town, the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, the Judges, and several of Their Majesties learned Council, He told them:*

*“ He had call'd them together upon a very extraordinary Occasion; but that extraordinary Diseases must have extraordinary Remedies; That the malicious Endeavours of his Enemies had so poison'd the Minds of some of his Subjects that by the Reports he had from all Hands, he had reason to believe, that very many did not think this Son with which God had bless'd him, to be his, but a suppos'd Child. But, he might say, that by a particular Providence, scarce any Prince was ever born where there were so many Persons present. That he had taken this time to have the Matter heard and examin'd there, expecting that the Prince of Orange, with the first easterly Wind, would invade this Kingdom: And as he had often ventur'd his Life for the Nation before he came to the Crown, so he thought himself more oblig'd so to do now he was King, and did intend to go in Person against him, whereby he might be expos'd to Accidents, and therefore he thought it necessary to have this now done, in order to satisfy the Minds of his Subjects, and to prevent this Kingdom's being engag'd in Blood and Confusion after his Death; That he had desir'd the Queen-Dowager to give her self the Trouble to come thither, to declare what she knew of the Birth of*

*Extraordinary Council held about the Birth of the Prince of Wales, Oct. 22.*

“ his Son, and that most of the Ladies, Lords, and 1688.  
 “ other Persons who were present, were ready to  
 “ depose upon Oath the Knowledge of this Mat-  
 “ ter. Besides, the Declaration of the Queen-Do-  
 wager, who only said that she was in the Room  
 when the Queen was deliver'd of the Prince of  
*Wales*, the Depositions of Forty Persons more were *Depositions*  
 taken in Form. Of these Witnesses Seventeen were *in Favour*  
*Roman Catholicks*, viz. the Dutchess of *Richmond*, of the  
 the Marchioness of *Powis*, the Countesses of *Peterbo-* *Prince of*  
*rough*, *Fingal* and *Litchfield*; the Lady *Bulkeley*, *Wales*.  
 the Lady *Waldegrave*, Mrs. *Mary Crane*, Mrs. *Isa-*  
*bella Waldegrave*; Mrs. *Pelegrina Turini*, an *Italian*;  
 Mrs. *Anne Cary*, Mrs. *Mary Anne Delabadie*, a *French*  
 Woman, dry Nurse to the Prince; Mrs. *Judith*  
*Wilks*, the Queen's Midwife; the Lady *Arundel* of  
*Wardour*; the Earls of *Murray* and *Melfort*; and  
 Sir *William Waldegrave*, first Physician to the  
 Queen; and Three and Twenty Protestants, to  
 wit, The Countesses of *Arran*, *Sunderland*, *Ros-*  
*common*, and *Marischall*; *Susanna Lady Bellafyse*,  
 the Lady *Isabella Wentworth*, Mrs. *Catharine Sayer*,  
 Mrs. *Margaret Dawson*, Mrs. *Elizabeth Bromley*,  
 Mrs. *Elizabeth Pearse*, the Lord Chancellor *Jeffreys*,  
 the Earls of *Sunderland*, *Mulgrave*, *Craven*, *Fever-*  
*sham* and *Middleton*, *Sidney Lord Godolphin*, Sir  
*Stephen Fox*, Lieutenant Colonel *Edward Griffin*;  
 Sir *Charles Scarborough*, first Physician to the King;  
 Sir *Thomas Witherley*, second Physician to the King;  
 Dr. *Robert Brady*, one of His Majesties Physicians  
 in Ordinary; and *James St. Amand*, Their Ma-  
 jesties Apothecary. The most material and possi-  
 tive Evidence that was given in relation to the  
 Queen's Bigness, Delivery and Lying-in, was as fol-  
 lows: The Countess of *Peterborough* depos'd, That  
 she was often with the Queen while Her Majesty was  
 last with Child, and saw the Milk often upon Her  
 Majesties Smock, when she took it off from the Queen;  
 and often saw Her Majesties Belly, so as it could not  
 be otherwise but that she was with Child. The  
 Countess of *Sunderland*: That she stood at the Queen's  
 Bolster on that side of the Bed where the Queen was  
 deliver'd; That after some lingring Pains, the Queen  
 said,

1688.

*said, She fear'd she could not be brought to Bed: good while; but enquiring of the Midwife, she sur'd Her Majesty, That she wanted only one the rough Pain to bring the Child into the World: Upon which the Queen said, It is impossible, and commanded this Deponent to lay her Hand on Her Majesties Belly, to feel how high the Child lay, which the Deponent did, but soon after a great Pain came on, and the Queen was deliver'd. The Lady Isabella Wentworth, one of the Ladies of the Bed-Chamber to the Queen; That she often saw the Milk: Her Majesties Breast upon her Smock; That she did once feel the Child stir in the Queen's Belly; and that she was present when the Child was born, and that she heard it cry, and then went to fetch Vinegar for the Queen to smell to; That she heard the Queen command the Midwife not to tell her of what Sex it was, for fear of surprizing Her Majesty; That she did desire to see the Child, Mrs. Delabadie having it in her Arm: That the Child look'd black, whereupon the Deponent desir'd Dr. Waldegrave to look to it, believing it was not well; and lastly, That she saw the Navel-string of the Child cut, and Three Drops of the Blood which came fresh out, given to him for the Convulsion-fits. Mrs. Margaret Dawson, another Lady of the Bed-Chamber, said, That coming up into the Queen's Chamber, she found her sitting all alone upon a Stool by the Bed's-Head, when the Queen said to her, she believ'd her self in Labour, and bid her get the Pallace-Bed, which stood in the next Room, to be made ready quickly for her; but that Bed never having been aired, the Deponent persuaded the Queen not to make use of it; After which the Queen bid the Deponent make ready the Bed she came out of, which was done accordingly; That she saw Fire carried into the Queen's Room in a Warming-pan to warm the Bed; after which the Queen went into her Bed, and was deliver'd of a Son. Mrs. Bromley, another Lady of the Bed-Chamber; That she saw the Queen put on her Smock every Morning, by which Means she saw the Milk constantly fall out of Her Majesties Breasts, and observ'd the Bigness of Her Majesties Belly, which could not be counterfeited. Mrs. Wilks said, That being the Queen's Midwife,*

she came often to her, especially when Her Majesty was in any Danger of miscarrying, and many times felt the Child stir in her Belly, and saw the Milk run out of Her Majesties Breasts; That on Trinity-Sunday last in the Morning, the Queen sent Mr. White, Page of the Back-Stairs, to call her, believing her self in Labour, when the Deponent came, she found the Queen in great Pain; That whilst Her Majesty was sitting trembling, her Water broke, and immediately she sent for the King; That about Ten a Clock that Morning the Queen was deliver'd of the Prince of Wales by her Assistance; That afterwards she shew'd the After-Burthen to the Physicians, and before them cut the Navel-string, and gave the Prince Three Drops of the Blood to prevent Convulsion-Fits, according to their Order. That when the Child was born, it not crying, the Queen said, She thought it was dead; This Deponent assur'd Her Majesty it was not, and desir'd Leave to part the Child from the After-Burthen: Which the Queen was unwilling to have done, thinking it might be dangerous to her self; but the Deponent assuring Her Majesty it would not, Her Majesty gave Consent; whereupon the Child presently cry'd, and then the Deponent gave it to Mrs. Labadie. Mrs. Pearse, Laundress to the Queen, depos'd, That she saw the Prince of Wales given by the Midwife to Mrs. Labadie; That immediately after she saw the Midwife hold up the After-Burthen, shewing it to the Company, and then the Deponent fetch'd her Maids, and with them took away all the foul Linnen bot, as they came from the Queen; That for a Month after Her Majesties Lying-in, she well knew by the washing of her Linnen, that the Queen was in the same Condition that all other Women use to be on the like Occasion; And that some time after her Quickning it appear'd by her Smocks that Her Majesty had Milk in her Breasts, which continued until she was brought to Bed, and afterwards, during the usual time. The Lord Chancellor said, That he saw Mrs. Labadie carry the Child into another Room, whither the Deponent follow'd, and saw the Child when she first open'd it, and saw it was black and reaking; so that it plainly seem'd to him to have been newly come from the Womb; And that he did sted-

1688. *fastly believe the Queen was deliver'd of that Child that very Morning. The Earl of Middleton, Secretary of State, depos'd, That he stood near the Bed Feet on the Left Side, where he heard the Queen's Groans, and several loud Shrieks; the last the Deponent remembred continued so long, that he wonder'd how any Body could hold their Breath so long; That presently after the Deponent heard them say, the Queen was deliver'd; whereupon he stept up to the Bed-side and saw a Woman, he suppos'd the Midwife, kneeling at the other side of the Bed, who had her Hands and Arms within the Bed-Cloaths for a pretty while. That the Deponent saw her spread a Cloth upon a Lap, and lay the end of it over the Bed-Cloaths, and then fetch a Child out of the Bed into that Cloth, and gave it to Mrs. Labadie, who brought it round to the Side where the Deponent stood, and carry'd it into a little Room, into which the Deponent immediately follow'd the King, and saw that it was a Boy. The Earl of Craven said, That he took that particular Mark of the Child, that he might safely averr, that the Prince of Wales was that very Child that was brought out of the Queen's great Bed-Chamber, where the Deponent and others were present at Her Majesties Labour and Delivery. Sir Charles Scarborough, Sir Thomas Witherly, Sir William Waldegrave, and Jacob St. Amand, confirm'd the Midwife's Deposition and said, They saw the After-birth reeking warm and entire, and that some Drops of Blood from the Navel-string being mention'd among the Ladies for a Remedy against Convulsions, they consulted together, and allow'd of it, to satisfy the Women, there being, as was conceiv'd, no Danger in it. As for the time of the Queen's Conception, Dr. Scarborough said, That he often told him and others that she had Two reckonings, one from Tuesday the 6th of September, when the King return'd from his Progress to the Queen at the Bath, and the other from Thursday the 6th of October, when the Queen came to the King at Windsor; but for some Reasons the Queen rather reckon'd from the latter, tho' afterwards it prov'd just to agree with the former. Moreover, Sir William Waldegrave affirm'd, That Her Majesty took such Astringent Medicines during*



*the most part of her being with Child, in order to avoid Miscarriage, that if she had not been with Child, they must have been Prejudicial to her Health. After these Depositions were taken, His Majesty acquainted the Lords, that the Princess Anne of Denmark would have been Present ; but that she being with Child likewise, and having not lately stirr'd abroad, could not come so far without hazard : Adding further, That though he did not question but every Person there Present was satisfied before in this Matter, yet by what they had heard, they would be better able to satisfy others ; That, besides, if he and the Queen could be thought so wicked as to endeavour to Impose a Child upon the Nation, they saw how Impossible it would have been ; neither could he himself be impos'd upon, having constantly been with the Queen during her being with Child, and the whole Time of her Labour. That there was none of them but would easily believe him, who had suffer'd so much for Conscience Sake, incapable of so great a Villany, to the Prejudice of his own Children ; and that he thank'd God that those that knew him, knew well, that it was his Principle to do as he would be done by, for that was the Law and the Prophets, and he would rather Die a Thousand Deaths, than do the least Wrong to any of his Children.*

On the 27th of October, the Declaration made by the King, and Queen Dowager, together with the several Depositions, were enroll'd in Chancery, pursuant to an Order in Council ; and because the Earl of Huntingdon, a Protestant, and the Earl of Peterborough, a Romanist, who were able to depose to the Queen's Delivery, had not been examin'd at the Council-Board, they brought their Depositions into Court, which the Lord Chancellor order'd to be read, and afterwards enroll'd with the rest.

All these Testimonies were not able either to destroy the Negative Proofs, or remove the Suspicions of those who pretended that a supposed Child was convey'd into the Queen's Bed, in a Silver Warming-Pan made for that Purpose, and who grounded this Supposition of a Prince of Wales

1688. *Wales* on the Circumstances of the Queen's Birth and Delivery: Some honest *Roman* Catholics owning themselves, that so Important an Affair had been managed with great Supinuity and Impudence, during all the Time it was depending. Those Circumstances were chiefly these: The Queen had never a constant Reckoning; she was brought to Bed after a sudden removing of her Lodgings, and at a Time when most Protestant Ladies were either at Bed or at Church, so that if she had design'd to avoid Witnesses; neither the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, nor the *Dutch* Ambassadors were present at Her Majesty's Labour, though they were the Three Persons who ought principally to have been there; during Her Majesty's Labour the Bed she lay in was not left so open as it should have been; whilst Her Majesty went with Child she never satisfy'd the Princess *Anne* of her Bigness either by letting her feel her Belly, or see her Breasts; neither did she shew the Princess any of her Marks after her Lying-in; and lastly, there was a Warming-Pan brought into the Room on Pretence of warming the Queen's Bed, which was altogether unnecessary, the Weather being extream hot, and the Room heated, besides, by a vast Crowd of People let in, on purpose, as 'twas reported, to make the Juggle pass undiscern'd in the Hurry. Two answer'd, That nothing is more common than for Women, even those that have had several Children, to mistake in their Reckoning; and for those who do not mistake, to be often brought to Bed, sometimes one, sometimes two Months before the usual Time, without any Prejudice to the Child; that the Queen was known to have ever had as easie and as quick a Labour as any Woman in the Kingdom; to which her Talents not a little contributed, and which was the Reason that a great many Persons, who were sent for, did not come in Time to see her deliver'd. That the Princess *Anne* being at the Bath was a voluntary Action of hers; that the Court expected she would have assisted at the Queen's Labour, which might have been suffi-

sufficient to convince her ; and as for the Queen's Milk, which was never shewn her, that it was no new thing to see Women lose it three or four Days after they are brought to Bed. As to the Warming-Pan, they replied, That a Labour generally begins with quaking and trembling like an Ague-Fit, for which some People warm their Beds in the hottest Weather ; and besides, that it had been Impossible to put a New-born Child, with the After-burden, in the narrow Compass of a Warming-Pan, without stifling it, All the other Objections were answer'd by saying ; that the Imperious Spirit of the Queen, and the Insulting Triumphs of the *Popish* Cabal, made the Court look upon all Precautions as mean, which afterwards they were convinced would have been but prudential Condescensions.

Some few Days after the Earl of *Sunderland* was removed from his Places of President of the Council, and Principal Secretary of State, which made a mighty Noise in the World. The Occasion of his Disgrace was this : *Skelton*, to justify his Conduct in *France*, told the King, that having receiv'd Information of the Prince's Designs from Mr. *Bude de Verace*, he had writ six or seven Letters about it to the Earl, to which having no Answer, he had applied himself to the King of *France*, who thereupon dispatch'd *Benrepos* to *England*, and sent Orders to his Ambassador at the *Hague* to Expostulate with the States the Reasons of their Warlike Preparations. This Account of *Skelton* began to raise Suspicions against the Prime Minister ; which were soon after encreas'd by the Deposition of one *Wickstoad*, formerly a Monk, who being seiz'd for holding Correspondence with the King's Enemies, and examin'd before the Council, charged the Earl of *Sunderland* to his very Face, with revealing His Majesties Secrets to the Prince of *Orange* ; whereupon *Wickstoad* was committed to the Custody of a Messenger, from whence he made his Escape. This Accusation from a Man of his Character had been little regarded at another Juncture, but agreeing exactly with that of *Skelton*, the Earl's past Con-

1688. Conduct was more nicely scann'd; and the King call'd to Mind, that the very same Person who had all along advis'd him to Support his Authority by the Alliance and Power of France, had made him reject that Assistance, when he had most Need of it; which perswaded His Majesty that he was embark'd in another Interest, and which occasion'd the Earl's Removal from his aforesaid Places. 'Tis reported, that to convince the Earl the King ask'd him for the Original of a certain Treaty, which he answer'd he had mislaid, and which the Earl's Enemies said, he had transmitted to the Prince of Orange: This the Earl positively denied; and as for Skelton's Letters, if he gave no Account of them to the King, 'twas not because he held Intelligence with the Prince of Orange, but because he had an invincible Contempt for *Scandal* who, he was us'd to say, never wrote but *Scandal* and News.

About this Time the Marquis of Albemarle presented to the King a Copy of the Resolution of the States, containing the Reasons that had oblig'd them to assist his Highness the Prince of Orange with Ships, Men and Ammunition, in his intended Expedition into England; which Resolutions they had communicated to all the Foreign Ministers at the Hague, except the French and English Ambassadors, and wherein, besides the repeated invitations his Highness had receiv'd from the English Nobility, Gentry and Clergy, they allodg'd, That the King of France had upon several Occasions shew'd himself dissatisfied with their State; which gave them Cause to Fear and Apprehend, that in Case the King of Great-Britain should happen to compass his Designs within his Kingdoms, and obtain an absolute Power over his People, that then both Kings, out of the Interest of State, and Hatred and Zeal against the Protestant Religion, would endeavour to bring their State to Confusion, and if possible, quite to subvert it.

Whilst King James was providing for his Security, and endeavouring to remove the Fears and Jealousies of his Protestant Subjects, the Prince of Orange

Orange was embarking his Troops with extraordinary Diligence, and to justify his Undertaking to the whole World, he publish'd a Declaration divided into Six and Twenty Articles, which may be reduc'd to Three Principal Heads. 1688.

“The First contain'd an Enumeration of the Grievances of the *English* Nation, particularly His Majesties Arrogating to himself a *Dispensing Power*, his advancing *Papists* to Civil, Ecclesiastical and Military Employments, and allowing them to sit in the Privy-Council; his setting up an illegal Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs, (in which there was one of His Majesties Ministers of State, who made publick Profession of the *Papish* Religion, and who at the time of his first Professing it, declar'd, that for a great while before he had believ'd that to be the only true Religion;) and by which not only the Bishop of *London* was Suspended, but the President and Fellows of *Magdalen Colledge* arbitrarily turn'd out of their Freeholds, contrary to that express Provision in *Magna Charta*, That no Man shall lose Life or Goods but by the Law of the Land; His allowing *Papish* Monasteries and Colledges of *Jesuits* to be created; his turning out of publick Employments all such as would not concur with His Majesty in the Repeal of the Test and Penal Laws; his invading the Priviledges, and seizing on the Charters of most Corporations, and placing *Papish* Magistrates in some of them; his subjecting the Courts of Judicature to his Arbitrary and Despotick Power, and putting the Administration of Justice into the hands of *Papists*; his not only Arming the *Papists*, in contempt of the Laws, but likewise raising them up to the greatest Military Trust, both by Sea and Land, Strangers as well as Natives, and *Irish* as well as *English*, that he might be in a Capacity to enslave the Nation; His putting the whole Government of *Ireland* into the Hands of *Papists*; his assuming an Absolute and Arbitrary Power in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, from which it was apparent what was to be look'd for in *England*.

The Prince of Orange's Declaration, O. S. Sept. 30. N. S. Oct. 10.

1688.

\* The Lord  
Lovelace.

Secondly, His Highness alledg'd, " That the  
 " great and insufferable Oppressions, and the  
 " Contempt of all Law, together with the  
 " apprehensions of the sad Consequences that  
 " certainly follow upon it, had made the Subj  
 " to look after such Remedies as are allow'd  
 " all Nations, and in the most Absolute Mon  
 " chies, all which had been without Effect;  
 " Majesties evil Counsellors having endeavour'd  
 " to make all Men apprehend the loss of th  
 " Lives, Liberties, Honours and Estates, if  
 " should go about to preserve themselves from  
 " Oppression by Petitions and Representation  
 " an Instance of which was the Prosecution of  
 " Seven Bishops; That a Peer \* of the Rea  
 " was treated as a Criminal, only because he sa  
 " *That the Subjects were not bound to obey the Ord*  
 " *of a Popish Justice of Peace, tho' it's evident*  
 " *they being by Law render'd incapable of*  
 " *such Trusts, no regard is due to their Orders*  
 " *that both he and his Consort the Princess, ha*  
 " *endeavour'd to signify, with Terms full of Res*  
 " *spect to the King, the just and deep Regret*  
 " *which all these Proceedings had given them,*  
 " *and declar'd what their Thoughts were, touch*  
 " *ing the Repealing of the Tests and Penal Laws*  
 " *but that these evil Counsellors had put such*  
 " *Constructions on their good Intentions, that*  
 " *they had endeavour'd to alienate the King from*  
 " *and more from them. That the last and great*  
 " *Remedy for all these Evils, was the calling*  
 " *a Parliament, which could not yet be compass'd*  
 " *nor could be easily brought about; for those*  
 " *Men apprehending, that a lawful Parliament*  
 " *would bring them to account for all their open*  
 " *Violations of Law, and for their Conspiracies*  
 " *against the Protestant Religion, and the Lives*  
 " *and Liberties of the Subjects, they had en*  
 " *deavour'd, under the specious pretence of Liber*  
 " *of Conscience, first to sow Divisions between the*  
 " *of the Church of England and Dissenters; and*  
 " *Design to engage Protestants that are equal*  
 " *concern'd to preserve themselves from*

“ Oppression, into mutual Quarrellings, that so by  
 “ these, some Advantages might be given to them  
 “ to bring about their Designs; and that both  
 “ in Elections of Members of Parliaments, and af-  
 “ terwards in the Parliament it self; That they  
 “ had also made such Regulations as they thought  
 “ fit and necessary, for securing all the Members that  
 “ were to be chosen by the Corporations, by which  
 “ Means they hop’d to avoid the Punishment they  
 “ had deserv’d, tho’ it was apparent, that all Acts  
 “ made by *Popish* Magistrates were null and void  
 “ of themselves: So that no Parliament could be  
 “ lawful, for which the Elections and Returns  
 “ were made by *Popish* Magistrates, Sheriffs and  
 “ Mayors of Towns; and therefore as long as the  
 “ Magistracy was in such Hands, it was not possi-  
 “ ble to have a Free Parliament legally call’d and  
 “ chosen. That there were great and violent Pre-  
 “ sumptions inducing His Highness to believe,  
 “ that those evil Counsellors, in order to the gain-  
 “ ing the more Time for the effecting of their ill  
 “ Designs, had publish’d, *That the Queen had brought*  
 “ *forth a Son*; tho’ there had appear’d, both during  
 “ the Queen’s pretended Bigness, and in the Man-  
 “ ner wherein the Birth was manag’d, so many  
 “ just and visible Grounds of Suspicion, that not  
 “ only he himself, but all the good Subjects of this  
 “ Kingdom, did vehemently suspect, *That the pre-*  
 “ *tended Prince of Wales was not born of the Queen*;  
 “ And tho’ many both doubted of the Queen’s Big-  
 “ ness, and of the Birth of the Child, yet there  
 “ was not any one thing done to satisfy them, or  
 “ put an end to their Doubts. That since his Con-  
 “ sort the Princess, and likewise he himself, had so  
 “ great an Interest in this Matter, and such a Right  
 “ as all the World knew, to the Succession of the  
 “ Crown; since all the *English* did in the Year 1672.  
 “ when *Holland* was invaded with a most unjust  
 “ War, use their utmost Endeavours to put an  
 “ end to that War, and that in Opposition to  
 “ those who were then in the Government; since  
 “ the *English* Nation had ever testified a most par-  
 “ ticular Affection and Esteem, both to His High-  
 “ ness’



1688.

“ nefs’s dearest Consort, and to himself, he could not  
 “ excuse himself from espousing that Interest, in a  
 “ Matter of such high Consequence, and for con-  
 “ tributing all that in him lay for the maintaining  
 “ both of the *Protestant Religion*, and of the Laws  
 “ and Liberties of these Kingdoms, to the doing  
 “ of which, His Highness *was most earnestly solicited*  
 “ *by a great many Lords, both Spiritual and Tempo-*  
 “ *ral*, and by many Gentlemen, and other Subjects  
 “ of all Ranks.

“ Lastly, His Highness declared, That for the  
 “ foremention’d Reasons he has thought fit to go  
 “ over to *England*, and to carry with him a Force  
 “ sufficient to defend him from the Violence of  
 “ those evil Counsellors; That his Expedition  
 “ was intended for no other Design, but to have  
 “ a free and lawful Parliament assembled; as soon as  
 “ it was possible; and that in order to this, all  
 “ the late Charters, by which the Elections of  
 “ Burgesses were limited contrary to the ancient  
 “ Custom, should be consider’d as Null, and of no  
 “ Force; That to this Parliament *He would refer*  
 “ *the Enquiry into the Birth of the pretended Prince of*  
 “ *Wales*, and of all things relating thereto, and to  
 “ *the Right of Succession*; That he would concur in  
 “ every thing that might procure the Peace and  
 “ Happiness of the Nation, under a just and legal  
 “ Government; That he would keep the Forces  
 “ under his Command under all the Strictness of  
 “ Martial Discipline, and promised that he would  
 “ send back all those Foreign Forces as soon as the  
 “ State of the Nation would admit of it; That  
 “ therefore he invited and required all Persons  
 “ whatsoever to come and assist him, in order to  
 “ the executing his Design, against all such as  
 “ should endeavour to oppose him; That he  
 “ would likewise take Care that a Parliament  
 “ should be call’d in *Scotland*, for restoring the an-  
 “ cient Constitution of that Kingdom, and for  
 “ bringing the Matters of Religion to such a Set-  
 “ tlement, that the People might live easy and hap-  
 “ py; That he would also study to bring the  
 “ Kingdom of *Ireland* to such a State, that the Set-  
 “ tlement

“ tlement there might be religiously observ’d, and  
 “ that the *Protestant* and *British* Interest there might  
 “ be secur’d; And concludes, That he would en-  
 “ deavour by all possible Means to procure such  
 “ an Establishment throughout all the Three King-  
 “ doms, that they might all live in a happy Uni-  
 “ on and Correspondence together; and that the  
 “ Protestant Religion, and the Peace, Honour and  
 “ Happiness of these Nations, might be establish’d  
 “ upon lasting Foundations.

This Declaration was ready to be sent over to  
 England, with another to the same Purpose for  
 Scotland, when his Highness being inform’d that  
 King James by granting most of the Bishops De-  
 mands, had taken Measures to render it Ineffectual,  
 caus’d the following Addition to be made to it.

“ After we had prepar’d and printed our Declara-  
 “ tion, we have understood that the Subverters  
 “ of the Religion and Laws of these Kingdoms,  
 “ hearing of our Preparations to assist the People  
 “ against them, have begun to retract some of the  
 “ Arbitrary and Despotick Powers that they had  
 “ assumed, and to vacate some of their unjust  
 “ Judgments and Decrees. The Sence of their  
 “ Guilt, and the Distrust of their Force, have  
 “ induc’d them to offer to the City of London  
 “ some seeming Relief from their great Oppressions,  
 “ hoping thereby to quiet the People, and to di-  
 “ vert them from demanding a Re-establishment  
 “ of their Religion and Laws under the Shelter  
 “ of our Arms. They did also give out, that we  
 “ do intend to Conquer and Enslave the Nation;  
 “ and therefore it is we have thought fit to add a  
 “ few Words to our Declaration.

“ We are Confident that no Persons can have  
 “ such hard Thoughts of us, as to imagine we  
 “ have any other Design in this our Undertaking,  
 “ than to procure a Settlement of the Religion,  
 “ and of the Liberties and Properties of the Sub-  
 “ jects upon so sure a Foundation, that there may  
 “ be no Danger of the Nation’s relapsing into the  
 “ like Miseries at any Time hereafter. And as  
 “ the Forces we have brought along with us are  
 “ utterly

1688, "utterly disproportioned in that wicked Design of  
 "conquering the Nation, if we were capable of  
 "intending it ; so the great Numbers of the Prin-  
 "cipal Nobility and Gentry, that are Men of Emi-  
 "nent Quality and Estates, and Persons of known  
 "Integrity and Zeal, both for the Religion and  
 "Government of *England*, many of them being  
 "also distinguished by their constant Fidelity to the  
 "Crown, who do both accompany us in this  
 "Expedition, and have earnestly solicited us to it,  
 "will cover us from all such malicious Insinuat-  
 "ions ; for it is not to be imagin'd, that either  
 "those who have Invited us, or those who are  
 "already come to Assist us, can join in a wicked  
 "Attempt of Conquest, to make void their own  
 "lawful Titles to their Honours, Estates and Inte-  
 "rests.

"We are also Confident, that all Men see how  
 "little weight there is to be laid on all Promises  
 "and Engagements that can be now made, since  
 "there has been so little Regard had in the Time  
 "past to the most solemn Promises. And as that  
 "imperfect Redress that is now offered is a plain  
 "Confession of those Violences of the Govern-  
 "ment that we have set forth ; so the Defective-  
 "ness of it is no less apparent ; for they lay down  
 "nothing which they may not take up at Pleasure ;  
 "and they reserve entire, and not so much as men-  
 "tioned, their Claims and Pretences to an Arbi-  
 "trary and Despotick Power, which has been the  
 "Root of all their Oppression, and of the  
 "total Subversion of the Government. And it  
 "is plain, that there can be no Redress, no Remedy  
 "offered, but in Parliament, by a Declaration of the  
 "Rights of the Subjects that have been invaded,  
 "and not by any pretended Acts of Grace, to which  
 "the Extremity of their Affairs has driven them.  
 "Therefore it is that we have thought fit to declare,  
 "that we will refer all to a free Assembly of this  
 "Nation in a lawful Parliament.

*The Prince  
 of Orange  
 takes Leave  
 of the  
 States,*

All things being ready to put to Sea, the Prince  
 of Orange took his solemn Leave of the States, up-  
 on which Occasion there past such Expressions  
 of

Of Affectionate Tenderness, and Mutual Confidence between his Highness, and Pensioner *Fagel*, that the Hearts of the whole Assembly melted into that generous inexpressible Sorrow, which none but parting Lovers can conceive. On the Twentieth Day of *October*, the *Dutch Fleet*, consisting of 52 Men of War, 25 Frigats, as many Fireships, with near four Hundred Victuallers, and other Vessels, for the Transportation of 3660 Horse, and 10692 Foot, sail'd from the *Flatts* near the *Briel*, with a Wind at South-West and by South. The Prince of *Orange* embark'd on a Frigate of 28 or 30 Guns, and with him Count *Nassau*, General of the Horse; Count *de Solms*, Colonel of his Foot-Guards, Count *de Stirum*, Monsieur *Overkerke*, Monsieur *Bentinck*, and Monsieur *Zuylesteyn*. He was accompanied by those *English* and *Scotch* Lords and Gentlemen, who had already declar'd for him, the most Remarkable of which were, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, the Marquis of *Winchester*, the Earl of *Macclesfield*, Viscount *Mordant*, Mr. *Sidney*, the Earl of *Argyle*, Admiral *Herbert*, Mr. *Herbert* his Cousin, Mr. *Russel*, the Lord *Wiltshire*, the Lord *Pawlet*, the Lord *Coot*, Sir *Rowland Gwyn*, Mr. *Harbort*, the Lord *Elan*, (Son to the Marquis of *Halifax*) and the Lord *Dunblaine*, together with Dr. *Burnet*, *Ferguson*, *Wildman*, and some others, that were suspected of being concern'd in the Murder of the Bishop of *St. Andrews*, Mareschal *Schomberg*, with his Son Count *Charles Schomberg*, Monsieur *la Caillemote*, Son to the Marquis *de Ruvigni*, and two or three Hundred French Officers, who had left their Countrey upon the Score of their Religion, had likewise a Share in this Protestant Expedition. Admiral *Herbert* led the Van, Vice-Admiral *Evertzen* brought up the Rear, and the Prince plac'd himself in the main Body, carrying a Flag with *English* Colours and their Highnesses Arms, surrounded with this Motto, *The Protestant Religion, and Liberties of England*; and underneath the Motto of the House of *Nassau*, *Je Maintiendrai*, (*I will Maintain*.) This numerous Fleet were all under Sail, when the Wind coming

He puts to Sea, Octob,  $\frac{1}{2}$  9.

Meets with more a Storm.

1688.



low'd. Some few Days after, upon the News of the Prince being landed, several Peers were likewise question'd about the same Clause in the Prince's *Manifesto*, particularly the Marquis of *Hullifax*, and the Earls of *Nottingham*, *Clarendon*, *Burlington*, and *Abington*, who all made great Protestations of Loyalty; As for the Bishops, though they seem'd very much displeas'd with their being mention'd in his Highness's Declaration, yet being call'd upon to perform their Promise, they alledg'd, That the Prince of *Orange* giving it out, that he was invited by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, They being but five or six in Number, could not Sign a Paper, which concern'd not only the whole Episcopal Body, but also all the Peers of *England*, and therefore desir'd His Majesty to refer that Matter to a Free Parliament. The King was highly dissatisfied with this Answer, and the Lord *Preston*, who was then with the King, told the Bishops, His Majesty expected more from their Loyalty, and from the Principles of their Church. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, accompanied by the Bishops of *London*, *Rochester* and *Peterborough*, seeing the Bishops of *Chester* and *St. Davids* in the King's Chamber, told the Lord *Preston*, that if His Majesty would have him speak, he should be pleas'd to bid these two to withdraw, which being granted, the King ask'd them again if they had brought their *Declaration of Abhorrence* according to Promise? They answer'd, they had never promis'd any such thing positively, but only to consider of it; which the Lord *Preston* confirmed. That it was contrary to their Peerage and their Profession to promote War against a Prince so nearly allied to the Crown; however they added, that if their verbal disowning of the Allegations of the Prince of *Orange*, relating to the Spiritual Lords, could be of any Service to His Majesty, they consented it should be printed, though they could not give it under their Hands for the Reasons abovemention'd. The King replied, that People would never give Credit to any such printed Declaration without Names, but perceiving

perceiving they remain'd firm in their Refusal, 1688. His Majesty somewhat provok'd with Indignation, left them abruptly, telling them, *He would trust to his Army.* From this Moment the Bishop of Durham appeared no more at the Council-Board, but told the Archbishop of Canterbury, that he was sorry for having so long concurr'd with the Court, and desir'd to be reconcil'd with the other Bishops.

To keep the Prince's Declaration from the Knowledge of the People, a \* Proclamation was issued out, *warning and admonishing all His Majesties Subjects, that they did not publish, disperse, repeat, or hand about the said Treasonable Declaration, upon Peril of being prosecuted according to the utmost severity of Law.* But the Court, finding that this Prohibition was Ineffectual to suppress his Highness's Declaration, they suffer'd it to be printed, with a Preface, and some frivolous Animadversions upon it. There was also printed about the same Juncture this Letter of the Prince of Orange to the Officers of the Army. Nov. 2.

*Gentlemen and Friends,*

“ We have given you so full and so true an Account of our Intentions in this Expedition, in our Declaration, that as we can add nothing to it, so we are sure you can desire nothing more of us. We are come to Pre-serve your Religion, and to Restore and Establish your Liberties and Properties; and therefore we cannot suffer our selves to doubt, but that all true English Men will come and concur with us in our Desire to secure these Nations from Popery and Slavery. You must all plainly see, that you are only made use of as Instruments to enslave the Nation, and ruin the Protestant Religion; and when that is done, you may judge what you your selves ought to expect, both from the cashiering all the Protestant and English Officers and Soldiers in Ireland, and by the Irish  
P 4 “ Sol-

*The Prince of Orange's Letter to the English Army.*

1688.

“Soldiers being brought over to be put in  
 “in your Places, and of which you have seen so  
 “fresh an Instance, that we need not put you  
 “in Mind of it. You know how many of  
 “your Fellow-Officers have been us’d for their  
 “standing firm to the Protestant Religion, and  
 “to the Laws of *England*: And you cannot  
 “flatter your selves so far as to expect to be  
 “better us’d, if those who have broke their  
 “Word so often, should by your Means be  
 “brought out of those Streights, to which they  
 “are at present reduc’d. We hope likewise that  
 “you will not suffer your selves to be abus’d  
 “by a false Notion of Honour; but that you  
 “will in the first Place consider what you owe  
 “to Almighty God, and next to your Coun-  
 “try, your Selves, and your Posterity; which  
 “you, as Men of Honour, ought to prefer to  
 “all private Considerations and Engagements  
 “whatsoever. We do therefore expect that  
 “you will consider the Honour that is now  
 “set before you, of being the Instruments of  
 “serving your Country, and securing your Re-  
 “ligion; And we shall ever remember the  
 “Service you shall do us upon this Occasion,  
 “and will promise you that we shall place  
 “such particular Marks of our Favour on every  
 “one of you, as your Behaviour at this time shall  
 “deserve of us and the Nation, in which we  
 “will make a great Distinction of those that  
 “shall come seasonably to join their Arms with  
 “ours; And you shall find us to be,

*Your Well-wishing,*

*And assured Friend,*

W. H. P. O.

This Letter was spread under-hand over the whole Kingdom, and the Suggestions of it being undeniable, and well couched, it had a wonder-  
 fu



ful Effect on the Spirits of the Soldiers; so that 1688.  
those who did not presently comply with it at  
the Prince's landing, yet resolv'd they would ne-  
ver draw their Swords in this Quarrel, till they  
had a free Parliament to secure the Religion, Laws  
and Liberties of England. Nor had Admiral  
Herbert's Letter to His Majesties Fleet less In-  
fluence on the Seamen. Which Letter was as  
follows:

Gentlemen,

“ I have little to add to what His Highness has *Admiral*  
“ express'd in general Terms, besides laying before *Herbert's*  
“ you the dangerous Way you are at present in, *Letter to*  
“ where Ruin or Infamy must inevitably attend *His Maje-*  
“ you, if you don't join with the Prince in the *sties Fleet,*  
“ common Cause, for the Defence of your Religi- *dated a-*  
“ on and Liberties; for should it please *board the*  
“ God, for the Sins of the English Nati- *Leyden, in*  
“ on, to suffer your Arms to prevail, to what *the Goo-*  
“ can your Victory serve you, but to enslave you *rec.*  
“ deeper, and overthrow the true Religion in which  
“ you have liv'd, and your Fathers dy'd? Of  
“ which, I beg you, as a Friend, to consider the  
“ Consequences, and to reflect on the Blot and In-  
“ famy it will bring on you, not only now, but  
“ in After-Ages; That by your Means the Prote-  
“ testant Religion was destroy'd, and your Coun-  
“ try depriv'd of its ancient Liberties; and if it  
“ pleases God to bless the Prince's Endeavours  
“ with Success, as I don't doubt but he will, con-  
“ sider then what their Condition will be that op-  
“ pose him in this so good Design, where the great-  
“ est Favour they can hope for, is, their being  
“ suffer'd to end their Days in Misery and Want,  
“ detested and despis'd by all good Men. It is  
“ therefore, and for many more Reasons, too long  
“ to insert here, that I, as a true *English* Man, and  
“ your Friend, exhort you to join your Arms to  
“ the Prince, for the Defence of the common  
“ Cause, the Protestant Religion, and the Liber-  
“ ties of your Country. It is what I am well as-  
“ sur'd

1688.



“sur'd the major and best part of the Army, as well  
 “as the Nation, will do so soon as Convenience  
 “offers. Prevent them in so good an Action,  
 “whilst it is in your Power ; and may it appear,  
 “That as the Kingdom has always depended on  
 “the Navy for its Defence, so you will yet go fur-  
 “ther, by making it, as much as in you lyes, the  
 “Protection of Her Religion and Liberties, and  
 “then you may assure your selves of all Marks  
 “of Favour and Honour suitable to the Merits of  
 “so great and glorious an Action. After this,  
 “I ought not to add so inconsiderable a thing as  
 “that it will for ever engage me to be in a most  
 “particular Manner,

*Gentlemen,*

*Your Faithful Friend,*

*And Humble Servant,*

A. R. HERBERT.

*The Prince  
 of Orange's  
 Composed-  
 ness and  
 Intrepidity  
 in the  
 Storm.*

To return to the Prince of *Orange*, the Storm which caus'd so great a Confusion in his Fleet, did not so much as ruffle or disorder his Mind ; for whilst most People about him had still their Fancies haunted with the Horrors of the late tempestuous Night, his Highness with that Composedness of Soul, and Serenity of Countenance, which is peculiar to Heroes, was pursuing his fix'd Design, and contriving how to repair his Losses. The first thing he did, was to send out Coast-Pilots (such as the *Dutch* call *Lotesmen*) to cruise up and down the Seas between *Holland*, *England* and *France*, to get Intelligence of his scatter'd Fleet, and to order all the Ships they met with to go into *Helvoet-Sluis*. By these Pilots His Highness was inform'd, that none of his Vessels were lost, except one Fly-boat, laden with Men and Horses, which was driven upon the Coast of *England*, and secur'd by one of King *James's* Frigats ; but that all the rest were safe in one Harbour or another, tho' most of them much shatter'd and damag'd in their Rigging.

Rigging. The stormy Weather continued for Eight Days, during which, such Diligence was us'd in refitting and victualling the Fleet, and supplying the Loss of about 500 Horses, that all things being now in a Readiness, and the Wind Easterly, His Highness, accompanied as before, went aboard a new Vessel of about 28 Guns, call'd the *Briel*, with the *Rotterdam's* Admiral, the Trumpets sounding, the Hautboys playing, the Soldiers and Seamen shouting, and a Crowd of Spectators on the Shoar breathing forth their Wishes after him. The usual Signal being given, the whole Fleet weigh'd Anchor with all possible Expedition, being divided into Three Squadrons; on Board which were Troops of several Nations: The Red Flag was for the *English* and *Scotch*, commanded by Major-General *Mackay*; the White for the Prince's Guards, and the *Brandenburghers*, commanded by Count *Solms*; and the Blue for the *Dutch* and *French*, commanded by the Count of *Nassau*. The Winds were prosperous, and withal a brisk Gale, and by the Compass the Fleet pointed towards the North, so that some concluded the Prince design'd to land somewhere there. It was also generally suppos'd, that the Scouts which were sent out by the Lord *Dartmouth*, seeing the *Dutch* Fleet made Northward, hasten'd to acquaint him with it; after some Hours sailing in the Night, the whole Fleet struck Sail, and drove before the Wind. The next Morning they steer'd with all speed towards the Coast of *England*, without meeting with any *English* Ship; but Night coming on, they all struck Sail again, and were driven as before. On the 3d of *November*, being got up with the *North-Forelands*, and the Easterly Wind continuing very favourable, the Fleet made all the Sail each Ship could bear, and now pointed towards the Channel. About Mid-day the Prince of *Orange*, who led the Van, tack'd about to see the Rear well come up, and between *Dover* and *Calais* call'd a Council of War, and afterwards order'd that his own Standard should be set up, and that the Fleet should close

1688.

He puts to  
Sea again,  
Novem. 1.

† Friday,  
Novem. 2.


1688. close up in a Body. His Highness, with Three Men of War to attend him, One at a distance before his Ship, and One on each side, sail'd forwards before the Navy, the Transport Ships, Victuallers and Tenders, sail'd next, with their Decks crowded with Officers and Soldiers, and the main Body of the Men of War brought up the Rear, ready to receive the Enemy, if, as 'twas expected, they had attempted to disturb their Course. And here let the Reader carry his Fancy either to the *French* or *English* Shoar, to view with Crowds of amaz'd Spectators this glorious, but formidable Sight, and behold the Prince of *Orange* riding triumphantly in the Channel, whilst *Lewis* and *James* are in Arms; And after the Reader has recover'd his first Astonishment, let him consider another Wonder, and cast his Eyes on the immense Power of a Common-wealth, which at this time were able to controul the Two greatest Monarchs of *Europe*. But to proceed: On the 4th of *November*, being *Sunday*, and the Auspicious Birth-day of the Prince of *Orange*, most People were of Opinion that he would land either in the *Ist* of *Wight*, *Portsmouth*, or some other convenient Place therabouts; but His Highness dedicated that Day to the use to which it is consecrated by the Church, that is, to the Service of God Almighty. The Fleet bore but little Sail that Night, and on the 5th of *November*, (a Day already famous for the Gunpowder-Plot, and which Providence design'd to render still more remarkable, by a second Deliverance from *Popery*) passing by *Dartmouth*, it being hazy Weather, they over-shot *Torbay*, where His Highness design'd to land; but about Nine a Clock the Weather clear'd up, and the Wind, as it were by Miracle, suddenly chang'd W. S. W. to give them Entrance into the Bay; and as soon as that was done, return'd to the same Quarter it was in before they wanted it. By this time the People of *Devonshire* having discover'd the Fleet, they flock'd in great Numbers to the Sea-shoar, not to oppose the Prince's Landing, but to welcome their Deliverer

The Prince  
of Orange  
lands at  
Torbay,  
Nov. 5.

Deliverer with joyful Acclamations, and to furnish him and his Followers with Provisions for their Refreshment. The Prince's Army was in a very ill Condition; especially his Cavalry, which for the most part were dismounted and unserviceable: And 'tis certain, that had he met with an Enemy to disturb his Landing, he would have been very much embarrass'd. But, as Providence order'd it, he found no manner of Opposition, and having safely landed all his harass'd Troops, he led them by easie Marches towards Exeter, and kept 'em within so strict a Discipline, that all who saw 'em were forc'd to own 'em for their Friends, and for the Restorers of the dying Liberties of England. In the mean time His Highness took up his Quarters at Sir William Courtney's House, within a Mile of Newton-Abbot, where he was very kindly entertain'd.

The King, who expected that the Prince of Orange would have landed at Burlington-Bay in the North of England, and who had sent a strong Detachment of his Army that way, was not a little surpriz'd to hear by several Expresses that the Dutch Fleet was seen off of Dover on the 3d of November, steering their Course Westward, so numerous, that they were Six Hours in passing by that Harbour, being rang'd in a Line Seven Leagues long. That on the 4th they were discover'd off of Portsmouth, and the Isle of Wight, and that on the 5th they landed at Torbay, Dartmouth, Exmouth, and the neighbouring Roads in Devonshire. His Majesty likewise expected that the Lord Dartmouth would have attack'd the Dutch Fleet according to his Orders, but was much concern'd to hear he did not stir from the Gutfleet, a Road off of Harwich, where he rode with 37 Men of War, and 17 Fireships. Whether a Fog interpos'd between the English Admiral and the Prince's Navy, or whether the former found his Officers and Seamen, or whether he was himself unwilling to fight in this Quarrel, and with unequal Force, History is still at a Loss. 'Tis true, Dartmouth had a Pique against Ad-

1688.

 Admiral *Herbert*, and therefore 'twas presum'd he would have attack'd him; but 'tis more probable to imagine, that upon this Occasion that Lord sacrific'd a private Resentment to the Love of his Country. Whatever it was, by a particular Providence the Prince of *Orange* found but Three little Vessels of all his prodigious Fleet missing; Two of which that carried Horses were taken by an *English* Frigate; and the third, on Board whereof were Four Companies of an *English* Regiment, commanded by Colonel *Babington*, and amongst the rest, the Company of Captain *Langham*, who was still in Custody for bringing over the Prince's Declaration.

The Prince's entering the Channel unattack'd, and his landing in the *West*, put the Court into great Alarms. The Duke of *Berwick* was sent down to *Portsmouth* with most of the Troops that were in and about *London*, to secure that important Place, and to deter People from joining his Highness; All the rest of the Forces, just before encreas'd by the coming over of 4000 *Irish*, were order'd to march with all speed towards him, and to assemble on *Salisbury-Plain*, where the King design'd to command in Person, and where he reckon'd to have had an Army of 30000 Men, but afterwards it was thought fit to leave 7 or 8000 behind in *London*, under the Command of the Lord *Craven*, to guard the Queen and Prince of *Wales*; and principally to suppress the Eruptions of the Mob. At the same time all Endeavours were us'd to render the Prince and his Army contemptible in the Sight of the People, by printing a List of them, and giving out; That but Nine of the Nobility, and Gentry only; and a few Rabble, appear'd for him. Nay, the King being inform'd that the City of *London*; and the Counties of *York* and *Kent*, design'd to address him to encline him to an Accommodation with the Prince of *Orange*, His Majesty declar'd in Council, That he would look upon all those as his Enemies who should pretend to advise him to treat with the Invader of his Kingdoms; and thereupon he caus'd

caus'd a Proclamation to be issued out against His Highness, which contain'd, *That it was but too evident by a late Declaration, publish'd by the Prince of Orange, that notwithstanding the many specious and plausible Pretences it carries, his Designs in the Bottom did tend to nothing less than an absolute Usurping of His Majesties Crown and Royal Authority, as might fully appear by his assuming to himself in the said Declaration the Regal Stile, requiring the Peers of the Realm, both Spiritual and Temporal, and all other Persons of all Degrees, to obey and assist him in the Execution of his Designs, a Prerogative inseparable from the Imperial Crown of this Realm. Adding, That for a more undeniable Proof of his immoderate Ambition, and which nothing could satisfie but the immediate Possession of the Crown it self, he call'd in question the Legitimacy of the Prince of Wales, His Majesties Son and Heir apparent, tho' by the Providence of God there were present at his Birth so many Witnesses of unquestionable Credit, as if it seem'd the particular Care of Heaven, on purpose to disappoint so wicked and unparallel'd an Attempt. That in order to the effecting of his Ambitious Designs, he seem'd desirous to submit all to the Determination of a free Parliament, hoping thereby to ingratiate himself with the People, tho' nothing was more evident than that a Parliament could not be free so long as there was an Army of Foreigners in the Heart of His Majesties Kingdoms; so that in truth he was the sole Obstructor of such a free Parliament: His Majesty being fully resolv'd, as he had already declar'd, so soon as by the Blessing of God His Kingdoms should be deliver'd from this Invasion, to call a Parliament, which could no longer be liable to the least Objection of not being freely chosen; since His Majesty had actually restor'd all the Boroughs and Corporations to their ancient Rights and Priviledges. Upon which Considerations, and the Obligations of their Duty and natural Obedience, His Majesty could no ways doubt, but that all his faithful and loving Subjects would readily and heartily concur and join with him in the entire suppressing and repelling*

1688.

Proclamation against the Prince of Orange, Nov. 6.



1688. *petting of his Enemies and Rebellious Subjects.* The greatest part of the Nation were already so prepossess'd of the good Intentions of the Prince, that this harsh Proclamation serv'd only to exasperate their Minds against King James; but His Majesty and his Counsellors were now giddy with Resentment, and incapable of following those wise Methods which are only suggested by cool and sober Thoughts.

The Prince of Orange comes to Exeter, Nov. 9.

The Bishop of Exeter made Archbishop of York.

The Prince of Orange having tarried Two or Three Nights at Sir William Courtney's, and finding the Clayie Ground thereabouts unfit for a Camp, rode with his Army to Exeter, where most People impatiently waited his coming, and whither Dr. Barnett was sent before to prepare Quarters for his Highness. The Bishop's Palace and Deanery being both view'd, the latter was thought to be the more convenient, and so concluded upon. On Friday the 9th of November His Highness enter'd the City of Exeter in a glorious and triumphant Manner, the Warlike Harmony of his Trumpets and Kettle-Drums being drown'd by the louder Peals of ringing of Bells, Shoutings and Huzza's of joyful Multitudes. The first thing His Highness did, was to go and pay his grateful Acknowledgment to Almighty God, and to cause *Te Deum* to be sung in the Cathedral Church for his safe Arrival. After the Collects were ended, Dr. Barnett began to read His Highness's Declaration, at which the Ministers of the Church there present were so surpriz'd, that they immediately left their Seats, and went out; however, the Doctor continued reading, and the Declaration being ended, he said, *God save the Prince of Orange*, to which the major part of the Congregation answer'd, *Amen*. As for the Bishop of this Place, (Dr. Lamplugh) he no sooner heard that the Prince of Orange was landed at Torbay, but he took Coach, and went up to London to inform the King of it, for which seasonable Demonstration of Loyalty he was immediately named to the vacant Archbishoprick of York. The main Body of the Prince's Army being

ing advanc'd near Exeter, it was dispos'd of, the Horse about Tiverton, Culhampton, Honyton, and Places adjacent, and part of the Foot encamp'd on *Clist-Heath*; and now His Highness's Care is both to refresh, and to reinforce his Army; the Drums beat for Volunteers, and not only every Regiment of *English* and *Scotch* that came with the Prince, and which wanted Men, are compleated; but the new Regiments of Sir *John Guyer*, and Sir *Robert Peyton* fill up apace; Horses for remounting the Cavalry, and for the Train of Artillery are bought up; and, in short, every thing is provided to march towards *Salisbury*.

However, His Highness, who was made to believe that upon his first Landing all the Gentlemen of the West would join him, finding that in Nine Days scarce any Person of Note had come in to him; That the Mayor and Aldermen of the City came to visit him, rather out of Fear than Affection, being busied in dubious Consultations among themselves; And that he wanted Money to pay his Men, began to doubt the Success of his Expedition; and in a Council of War held at Exeter it was propos'd to re-imbark for *Holland*. But by this time the Gentlemen of *Somersetshire* and *Dorsetshire* advanc'd in great Numbers, and waited on his Highness, upon which Occasion he spoke to them after the following manner:

Tho' we know not all your Persons, yet we have a Catalogue of your Names, and remember the Characters of your Worth and Interest in your Country. You see we are come according to your Invitation and our Promise. Our Duty to God obliges us to protect the Protestant Religion, and our Love to Mankind your Liberties and Properties. We expected you that dwelt so near the Place of our Landing would have join'd us sooner; not that it is now too late, nor that we want your Military Assistance so much as your Countenance and Presence, to justify our declar'd Pretensions, in order to accomplish our good and gracious Design. Tho' we have brought both a good Fleet, and

The Prince of Orange's Speech to the Somerset and Dorsetshire Gentlemen,

Nov. 15.

1688: *and a good Army, to render these Kingdoms happy, by rescuing all Protestants from Popery, Slavery, and Arbitrary Power, by restoring them to their Rights and Properties establish'd by Law, and by promoting of Peace and Trade, which is the Soul of Government, and the very Life-Blood of a Nation; yet we rely more on the Goodness of God, and the Justice of our Cause, than on any humane Force or Power whatever. Yet since God is pleas'd we shall make use of humane Means, and not expect Miracles for our Preservation and Happiness, let us not neglect making use of this gracious Opportunity, but with Prudence and Courage put in Execution our so honourable Purposes. Therefore, Gentlemen, Friends, and Fellow-Protestants, we bid you and all your Followers most heartily welcome to our Court and Camp. Let the whole World now judge if our Pretensions are not Just, Generous, Sincere, and above Price, since we might have even a Bridge of Gold to return back; But it is our Principle and Resolution, rather to die in a good Cause, than live in a bad one, well knowing that Virtue and true Honour is its own Reward, and the Happiness of Mankind our great and only Design.*

The Gentlemen of the Counties of *Dorsetshire* and *Somersetshire* having broke the Ice, they were soon follow'd by several other Persons of greater Note. The Lord *Colchester*, (a Protestant, Son to the Earl of *Rivers*, a Roman Catholick) Lieutenant of the Lord *Dover's* Troop of Life-Guards waited upon His Highness, accompanied by Mr. (now the Lord) *Wharton*, Colonel *Godfrey*, *James Howe*, Esq; Four Life-Guards of his Troop, and about Threescore Men more on Horseback. The Lord *Cornbury*, Colouel of Dragoons, being come to *Salisbury*, and pretending an Order from His Majesty to go and beat up one of the Enemies advanc'd Posts, carried off with him his own Regiment, and those of Horse of *Berwick*, *St. Albans*, and *Fenwick*, and, with the major Part of them, went over to the

the Prince at *Exeter*; as did also the Lord *A-  
bingdon*, Mr. *Russel*, Captain *Clargis*, and many  
others. About the same time His Highness was  
inform'd from *Cheshire*, That the Lord *Dela-  
mere* \* having receiv'd certain Intelligence of his \* Nov. 1688.  
Landing in the *West*, and seeing the *Irish* throng  
over in Arms, under Pretence of assisting the  
King, but in Reality to enslave the Nation,  
had thereupon assembled Fifty Horsemen, and  
at the Head of them march'd to *Manchester*;  
And that the next Day he went to *Bodon-Downs*,  
his Forces being then 150 strong, declaring his  
Design was to join the Prince, and inviting  
all his Tenants to follow him in this Honoura-  
ble Enterprize.

The Lord *Lovelace* was also marching towards  
*Exeter*, with Design to bring to His Highness a  
Reinforcement of 60 or 70 Horsemen; but go-  
ing thro' the Town of *Cirencester*, he was by the  
Duke of *Beaufort*'s Orders made Prisoner by the  
Militia of that Country, with Thirteen of his  
Followers, after an obstinate Skirmish, in which  
Ten or Twelve Men were kill'd on both sides.

The Joy the Court conceiv'd at the taking  
of the Lord *Lovelace*, was soon destroy'd by the  
melancholy News of my Lord *Cornbury*'s Defe-  
ction, which was like to break all their Mea-  
sures; for upon the first hearing of it, both  
the Artillery, the rest of the Troops, and the  
King's Equipage, that were moving towards  
*Salisbury*, had Orders to stop their March,  
it being now uncertain whether His Majesty  
would go to the Army or not. Howe-  
ver, after several Consultations, which the Earl  
of *Feverham* held with the general Officers, and  
at which Count *de Roze* assisted, it was thought  
necessary, that the King should hasten his Depar-  
ture, to keep firm to their Duty by his Pre-  
sence those who began to stagger.

On the other Hand, most of the Protestant  
Lords, both Spiritual and Temporal, who were  
then in *London*, to wit, the Archbishops of *Canterbu-*

1688. *ry and York, the Bishops of St. Asaph, Ely, Rochester, Peterborough and Oxford; the Dukes of Grafton and Ormond; the Earls of Clare, Clarendon, Barrington, Anglesey and Rochester; Viscount Newport, and the Lords Paget, Chandos and Ossulston, drew up a Petition, wherein they told the King, That in a deep Sense of the Miseries of a War now breaking out in the Bowels of this Kingdom, and of the Danger to which His Majesties Sacred Person was thereby like to be expos'd, and also of the Distractions of his People, by reason of their present Grievances, they did think themselves bound in Conscience, and out of the Duty they ow'd to God, their Holy Religion, to His Majesty, and their Country, most humbly to offer to His Majesty, That in their Opinions, the only visible Way to preserve His Majesty and this Kingdom, would be the Calling of a Parliament Regular and Free in all its Circumstances; That therefore they did most earnestly beseech His Majesty that he would be pleas'd with all speed to call such a Parliament, wherein they should be most ready to promote such Counsels and Resolutions of Peace and Settlement in Church and State, as might conduce to His Majesties Honour and Safety, and to the Quieting the Minds of his People; And likewise they did most humbly beseech His Majesty, in the mean time, to use such Means for the preventing the Effusion of Christian Blood, as to His Majesty should seem most meet and proper. The Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Halifax, the Earls of Oxford and Nottingham; and the Lord Carbury, who were at the drawing up of this Petition, refus'd to set their Hands to it, because they would have inserted in it, That the Peers who had join'd the Prince might sit in that free Parliament; for which they petition'd His Majesty, which Clause was rejected by the rest. However, the Petition being presented \* to the King by the Two Archbishops, and the Bishops of Ely and Rochester, His Majesty, who was advis'd by the Popish Lords about him, to rely on his Army rather than trust himself with a Parliament, answer'd*

\* Nov. 17.

swor'd those Reverend Prelates: That what they 1688.  
ask'd of him he most passionately desir'd: And he  
promis'd them upon the Faith of a King, That he *The King's*  
would have a Parliament, and such an one as they *Answer.*  
ask'd for, as soon as ever the Prince of Orange had  
quitted this Realm: For how was it possible a Par-  
liament should be free in all its Circumstances, as  
they petition'd for, whilst an Enemy was in the King-  
dom, and could make a Return of near an Hundred  
Voices? By this unsatisfactory, tho' plausible, An-  
swer, the King intirely ruin'd his Interest; for  
the least discerning Persons could not but per-  
ceive, that the Prince of Orange's Army was the  
only humane Security the Nation had for the  
calling of a free Parliament; and that if King  
James should force His Highness to leave the  
Kingdom, all their Laws and Liberties must be-  
come precarious, and lye at the Mercy of the  
Conqueror.

The King being press'd by the Earl of *The King*  
*sham* to make all the haste he could to his Army, *goes to the*  
began his Journey the same Day the Bishops waited *Army.*  
on him with the foremention'd Petition; but  
before he left *Whitchall*, His Majesty, who was ap-  
prehensive that the Example of the Lords Col-  
chester and Cornbury would prove contagious, as-  
sembled the Officers that were still in London, a-  
mongst whom were the Duke of Grafton, the Lord  
Churchill, Colonel Irelawny, and Colonel Kirk, and  
spoke to them in this manner: *According to the*  
*Lords Petition I have engag'd my Royal Word to call*  
*a free Parliament as soon as ever the Prince of Orange*  
*has quitted the Kingdom; and am resolv'd to do all*  
*that lyes in my Power to quiet the Minds of my Peo-*  
*ple, by securing their Religion, Laws and Liberties;*  
*if you desire any thing more, I am ready to grant it.*  
*But (added he) if after all this any of you is not*  
*satisfied, let him declare himself: I am willing to*  
*grant Passes to all such as have a mind to go over*  
*to the Prince of Orange, and spare 'em the Shame of*  
*deserting their lawful Sovereign. At the same time*  
*the Lord-Mayor of London having waited on the*  
*King to wish him a good Journey, His Majesty re-*

1688. commended to him the Care of the City, telling him he left a sufficient Number of Troops for their Defence; and that in case of need he might apply himself to the Privy-Council; assuring him withal, that if he return'd victorious, he would punctually perform what he had already promis'd for the Security of their Religion and Liberties. But the Council His Majesty left at *Whitehall* spoil'd all these fine Protestations: For it consisted of five Persons, of whom Three were odious to the Nation, viz. the Chancellor, and the Lords *Arundel* and *Bellasis*, Two *Roman Catholics*, the fourth the Lord *Preston*, who was suspected of favouring *Popery*; and the fifth, the Lord *Godolphin*, who was the only Person against whom there was no Exception. Tho' the Court was sensible of the ill Condition of their Affairs, yet they put on a Face of Assurance, and sent the Duke of *Hamilton* to *Scotland*, giving out, that he would soon return with a considerable Body of Forces, which the Nobility of that Kingdom had rais'd for the King's Service. But Father *Petre* having had the greatest Share in the irregular Proceedings of this Reign, so he was most intimately afraid of the threatening Danger, and thought it high time for him to retreat to *France*, which he did under the Protection of the Lord *Waldegrave*, who was sent Ambassador thither in the room of Colonel *Skelton*. Besides the fair Hopes King *James* had given the Peers and the Head-Officers of his Army, of maintaining the Church of *England*, His Majesty thought fit to carry along with him a *Protestant* Chaplain to *Salisbury*, thereby to satisfy the whole Army of his good Intentions. For this Purpose he pitch'd upon Mr. *Chetwood*, of whom 'tis necessary I should give the following Account, to let the Reader into His Majesties Reasons for fixing his Choice upon that Reverend Doctor, preferably to any other.

Mr. *Chetwood* was a Person, who besides the Advantage of his Birth, had distinguish'd himself at the University by his great Literature, and by an unconstrain'd and agreeable Way of conversing,



versing, which is seldom found in a good Scholar, and which made his Company courted by all the Ingenious and Polite. His Character having reach'd the Princess of *Denmark's* Ears, Her Royal Highness, in the Year 1684. order'd the Countess of *Clarendon*, then Groom of the Stole, to send for him out of the Country, where she heard he was at that time. Upon Mr. *Chetwood's* coming up to *London*, Her Royal Highness gave Directions that he should be sworn her Chaplain in Ordinary, both at *Whitehall* and *St. James's Chappel*; this occasion'd a Controversie with some of the other Chaplains, which however both the King and the Princess determin'd in Mr. *Chetwood's* Behalf. Being sensible of this Favour, Mr. *Chetwood* desir'd the Earl of *Mulgrave*, then Lord Chamberlain, to return his dutiful Thanks to the King, and humbly to assure His Majesty that he would ever serve him faithfully in every thing, as far as the Duty of a Clergyman of the Church of *England* would permit him; at which the King was so well satisfied, that he express'd it publickly, and said, *He knew he could rely upon his Honesty*. Some time afterwards the Doctor was sent for, and the Archdeaconry of *Canterbury* was bestowed upon him, the Enjoyment whereof was for some time permitted to the then Bishop of *Oxford*. Mr. *Chetwood* having taken out his Patent, and not doubting the Goodness of his Title, Dr. *Tennison* (now Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*) came to him, and told him, That if he insisted on this Matter, it might occasion the Suspension or Deprivation of my Lord of *Canterbury*; whereupon Mr. *Chetwood* assur'd him, That if he thought in Conscience that the pursuing the Execution of his Patent would turn any way to the Prejudice of the Church, he would freely give it up; which he did afterwards, upon the pressing Instances of Dr. *Tennison*, as one who never suffer'd the Courtier to encroach upon the Divine. Towards the latter end of 1687. the Arch-deaconry of *York* coming to be void, Mr. *Chetwood* was sent for to *Windsor*; but being unwilling to have it, he delayed going down; however some of his Friends prevail'd with him to accept it; and then he had

1688. the Opportunity of acquainting the King of  
 ~~~~~ extream Danger he was in; telling him, with  
 Good Ad- Liberty which results from a hearty and gen-
 vice given Affection, that if the Measures His Majesty be-
 King James therto follow'd were not speedily alter'd, it was
 by Mr. impossible for him to pass another Christmas in
 Chetwood. land. The King was so far from being offe-
 at it, that he encourag'd Mr. Chetwood to pro-
 by giving him his Word, that he would
 call him to Account for any thing he
 say, and as a further Pledge, gave him his
 Hand to kiss. Thereupon Mr. Chetwood discus-
 the Matter more at large, and, with Tears in
 Eyes, laid before His Majesty the general Dis-
 contents, which by his extended Conversation he
 observ'd among the Nobility, the Gentry,
 the Citizens; and because the King gave him
 understand, that he had a Fleet and an Army,
 which he thought himself secure, Mr. Chetwood
 told him, That the Fleet was not free from
 murings; and as for the Army, that he ought
 to depend upon it, there being scarce an Officer
 that was not either related to, or influenc'd by
 a Nobleman, a Gentleman, or a Citizen, on
 above the natural Tendernefs which all Eng-
 men, in what Station soever, had for their
 Liberties and Religion. The King was mov'd
 by this Discourse, and resolving to call a Parliament,
 gave Orders to Sir William Villars, and Nine
 Ten other Persons that were then about him, im-
 mediately to go down and make Interest in their
 Countries, Father Petre being inform'd of what
 had pass'd in private with the King, declar'd that
 Mr. Chetwood was a dangerous Person, and must
 not be admitted to His Majesty's Presence, and
 prevail'd with the King to alter his Resolution,
 which he foresaw would have ruin'd all the Pro-
 jects of the Popish Cabal. The next Day Mr.
 Chetwood went to the King's Supper, little regard-
 ing the Confessor's Anger, (of which he had a
 ready Notice given him by the Bishop of Chester)
 and was much surpriz'd to find so sudden an Al-
 teration in His Majesty, who turning to him, tol-
 him

Rendered
 ineffectual
 by Father
 Petre.

him, That those who would have him call a Parliament at that time, either wish'd him ill, or did not understand the State of his Affairs. Mr. Chetwood

1688.

took the Hint, and presently after retired to his Country Seat. Upon the Prince of Orange's landing, King James call'd to Mind the Advice and Prediction of Mr. Chetwood; who, by this time, being return'd to Court, to wait his Course before Her Royal Highness, His Majesty sent for him, and told him that he must go down with him to Salisbury; when Mr. Chetwood came there, he found the Chappel at the Bishop's House possess'd by the Popish Chaplains. Upon which he made Applications to the King, and desir'd Leave to withdraw, as being resolv'd not to officiate any where but in the Chappel: After some Dispute, the Papists remov'd, and the Chappel was crowded Morning and Afternoon with Persons of the best Note; and when Mr. Chetwood appear'd in publick, he was attended with a numerous Train of Officers, and encourag'd by the Acclamations of the Soldiers, who vow'd they would stand by him and the Church of England. The King being then sensible of his wrong Measures, and how necessary it was for him, at least to feign an Affection for the establish'd Religion, remov'd Sir Jonathan Trelawny from the Bishoprick of Bristol to Exeter, and gave Bristol to Mr. Chetwood; who seeing the Times very unquiet, never stirr'd afterwards in that Affair.

To return to the King. His Majesty having left London on Saturday, arriv'd at Salisbury on Monday Night, and was complimented by such Officers of the Army as were most devoted to him, who all express'd their Abhorrence of the Defection of the Lord Cornbury, which nevertheless was approv'd by a great many. The next Day the King going to view part of his Army which quarter'd Eight Miles from Salisbury, his Nose fell a-bleeding in so violent a manner, that nothing could stop it but the breathing one of his Veins, which hindred his Majesty from going the next Day to Warminster, the most advanc'd Post of his Army. The same Day

The King comes to
Salisbury, Oct. 19.

1688. Day most of the chief Officers, and even some of those who disapprov'd the Lord Cornbury's Action, apply'd themselves to the Earl of Feversham, desiring him to assure His Majesty, *That upon any Occasion they would be ready to spill the last Drop of their Blood in his Service; but that they could not in Conscience fight against a Prince, who was come over with no other Design than to procure the Calling of a free Parliament, for the Security of their Religion and Liberties.* By this the King understood how little he was to depend upon his Army; and the Lord Feversham, who strongly suspected the Lord Churchill, earnestly conjur'd His Majesty to have him secur'd: Which the King however would never consent to. The Earl's Suspicions prov'd to be

The Lord Churchill goes over to the Prince. well grounded, for the next Day the Lord Churchill, who commanded a Brigade of about 5000 Men, went over to His Highness with as many as were willing to follow him; amongst whom were the Duke of Grafton, Colonel Barklai, and Four or Five Captains of his Regiment of Dragoons. This Defection extreamly surpriz'd the King, the Lord Churchill being a Person on whom he had bestow'd distinguishing Favours, and whom he had rais'd to be a Lieutenant-General, a Captain of a Troop of Life-Guards, and a Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber. To aggravate his late Action, 'twas reported that he had laid a Design, with Colonel Kirk, who commanded at Warminster, to carry off the King to the Prince of Orange, which was prevented by His Majesties bleeding at the Nose. But this Report was altogether false; and as for his Lordship's going over to the Prince, his abandoning those great Advantages he enjoy'd under King James, and his firm Adherence ever since to the true Interest of England, are invincible Proofs, that he follow'd † nothing but the inviolable Dictates of his Conscience, and a necessary Concern for Religion, (which no Man can oppose) and with which he was instructed, nothing ought to come in Competition. Thus King James being deserted by his best Friends, and besides, falsely alarm'd, as if Duke Schomberg was marching with all speed to fight him,

† Lord Churchill's Letter to K. James.

him, he left *Salisbury* in great Precipitation, and on his way to *Windsor* had still the Mortification to see himself forsaken at *Andover* by His Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark, and by the Duke of Ormond; the first of whom wrote a Letter to His Majesty, wherein, with an Heart full of Grief, he told him what Prudence would not permit him to say to his Face, viz. That whilst the restless Spirits of the Enemies of the Reformed Religion, back'd by the cruel Zeal and prevailing Power of France, justly alarm'd and united all the Protestant Princes of Christendom, and engag'd them in so vast an Expence for the Support of it; how could he act so degenerate and mean a part as to refuse his Concurrence with such worthy Endeavours, for the disabusing His Majesty, by the Re-inforcement of those Laws, and Re-establishment of that Government, on which alone depended the well-being of His Majesty, and of the Protestant Religion in Europe? Before the King left *Salisbury*, seeing he could not lessen the Prince of Orange's Party by open Force, he had Recourse to Mildness and Clemency, publishing * a Pardon * to all those that had joined with His Highness, provided they would return to their Obedience within the space of Twenty Days.

Prince George Duke of Ormond leave the King, Nov. 25.

* Nov. 22.

In the mean Time the Prince of Orange's Troops increas'd daily by the Desertion of the King's Forces; and whilst His Majesties Interest was weaken'd by Discord, his Highness's Party was strengthened by an Association, drawn up and signed by all the Lords and Gentlemen that join'd him at *Exeter*, "for the Defence of the Protestant Religion, and for the Maintaining the ancient Government, and the Laws and Liberties of England, Scotland and Ireland: Whereby they did engage to Almighty God, to his Highness the Prince of Orange, and to themselves, to stick firm to this Cause, and to one another in Defence thereof, and never to depart from it, until their Religion, Laws and Liberties were so far secured to them, in a Free Parliament, that they should be no more in Danger of falling into Popery and Slavery."

Association at Exeter.

Upon

1688. Upon the News of King *James* being come to *Salisbury*, the Prince of *Orange* march'd out of *Exeter* with his Army, leaving only Sir *John* *Guyes* with his new-raisd Regiment to Guard that City; and his Van-guard advancing towards *Sherborn*, a Party of King *James's* Horse that were coming into the Town, retreated back to *Salum*. About the same Time, there happen'd a

Skirmish
at Win-
caunton,
Nov. 20.

Skirmish at *Wincaunton* between a Detachment of 70 Horse, and 50 Dragoons and Grenadiers of the Royal Army, Commanded by *Glifford*, *Sarsfield* and *Webb*, and 25 of the Prince of *Orange's* Men, Commanded by one *Cambel*, a Lieutenant in *Mackay's* Regiment. Notwithstanding the Inequality of Numbers, the latter fought with that undaunted Bravery, that they maintain'd their Ground for a considerable while; and when they were like to be over-power'd, a Miller that happen'd to come that Way, alarm'd the King's Party, telling them he had overtaken a strong Detachment of the Prince's Army, who were just entring the Town; whereupon they retreated in great Confusion, leaving several of their Men kill'd, and Cornet *Webb* wounded. This small Action struck a Terror into the Minds of King *James's* Army, who were otherwise little inclin'd to fighting: And besides, it was every where magnified so much above the real Truth, that it clearly shew'd how much Men wish'd the Prosperity of the Prince's Arms. His Highness was soon after inform'd of His Majesties retiring to *London*, and the broken Remains of his Army to *Reading*; which being confirm'd by Prince *George* and the Duke of *Ormond*, who join'd him at *Sherbourn-Castle*, His Highness march'd with all his Noble and Numerous Attendance into the City of *Salisbury*, where he was receiv'd with particular Demonstrations of Joy and Respect.

Risings in
several
Countries.

The Defection of the Army was not the only Misfortune that alarm'd the Court. The *Dutch* Fleet was got into *Plimouth*, which Town the Earl of *Bath* had beforehand secur'd for the Prince of *Orange*, and caus'd his Declaration to be publickly read

read there. The Lord Lovelace being rescued by a Party of His Highness's Forces, reinforc'd the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and Sir *John Guise*, who had forc'd the Duke of *Beaufort* to surrender to them the City of *Bristol*; the Earl (now Duke) of *Devonshire*, with several other Lords and Gentlemen, assembled at *Derby*, deliver'd a Paper to the Mayor of that Town, importing, " That as with Grief they Nov. 20th
 " apprehended the Calamities that might arise
 " from the Landing of a foreign Army in this King-
 " dom; so they could not but deplore the Occa-
 " sion given for it by so many Invasions made of
 " late Years on their Religion and Laws. And
 " whereas they could not think of any other Expe-
 " dient to compose their Differences, and prevent
 " Effusion of Blood, than that which pro-
 " cur'd a Settlement in these Kingdoms, after the
 " late Civil Wars, *the meeting and sitting of a Par-*
 " *liament, freely and duly chosen*; They thought
 " themselves oblig'd, as far as in them lay, to pro-
 " mote it; and the rather, because the Prince of
 " *Orange*, as appear'd by his Declaration, was wil-
 " ling to submit his own Pretensions, and all other
 " Matters, to their Determination. They heartily
 " wish'd, and humbly pray'd, That His Majesty
 " would consent to this Expedient, in order to a
 " future Settlement; and hop'd that such a Tem-
 " perament might be thought of, as that the Ar-
 " my then on foot might not give any Interrupti-
 " on to the Proceedings of a Parliament. But if to
 " the great Misfortune and Ruin of these King-
 " doms it should prove otherwise, they further
 " declar'd, That they would, to their utmost, de-
 " fend the Protestant Religion, the Laws of the
 " Kingdom, and the Rights and Liberties of the
 " Subject.

Two Days † after this the Nobility, Gentry and † Nov. 22.
 Commonalty, that had rendezvouz'd at *Notting-*
ham, subscrib'd a Declaration, wherein having sum-
 marily rehears'd the Grievances of the Nation,
 They did unanimously declare, *That not being willing*
to deliver their Posterity over to such a Condition of
Popery and Slavery, as their Oppressions, inevitably
threat-

1688.



threatned, they would, to the utmost of their Power oppose the same, by joining with the Prince of Orange for the Recovery of their almost ruin'd Laws, Liberties, and Religion. And herein they hoped all good Protestant Subjects would, with their Lives and Fortunes, be assistant to them, and not be bugbear'd with the Opprobrious Terms of Rebels, by which the Court would fright them, to become perfect Slaves to their Tyrannical Insolences and Usurpations. For they assur'd themselves, that no rational and unbiass'd Person would judge it Rebellion to defend their Laws and Religion, which all English Princes have sworn at their Coronations: Which Oath, how well it had been observ'd of late, they desir'd a free Parliament might have the Consideration of. They own'd it Rebellion to resist a King that governs by Law: But, added they, He was always accounted a Tyrant that made his Will his Law; and to resist such an one we justly esteem no Rebellion, but a necessary Defence: And in this Consideration we doubt not of all honest Mens Assistance, and humbly hope for, and implore the great God's Protection, that turns the Hearts of People as pleases him best; it having been observ'd, that People can never be of one Mind without his Inspiration, which has in all Ages confirm'd that Observation, Vox Populi est Vox Dei. At the same time the Earl of Danby, (now Duke of Leeds) his Son the Lord Dumbaine, (now Marquis of Carmarthen) the Lord Fairfax, and several other Persons of Quality, made themselves Masters of the City of York; and having disarm'd and turn'd out the Papists, who under the Protection of the Duke of Newcastle stood up for the King, declar'd for a free Parliament; Colonel Copley, Deputy-Governor of Hull; surpriz'd that important Sea-Port Town, and made the Lord Langdale, the Popish Governor, the Lord Montgomery, and the rest of the Papists, Prisoners, till with the Help of the Townsmen, Seamen, and part of the Garrison, he had secur'd the Castle and Cittadel; Newcastle receiv'd the Lord Lumley, and declar'd for the Prince of Orange, and a free Parliament; the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Oxford, and some other Persons of Note, went over to the Prince;

the

the Earl of *Stamford*, and the Lord *Delamere*, join'd the Earl of *Shrewsbury* at *Bristol*; and the Prince of *Wales* being privately sent to *Portsmouth*, under the Conduct of the Earl of *Powis*, the Lord *Dartmouth* would not suffer him to be carried into *France*. 1688.

Amidst all these distracting News the King arriv'd in *London*, where his Trouble was aggravated by the Recess of the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, his second Daughter, who was privately gone the Night before; and if a Letter, suppos'd to be written by her to the Queen, to shew the Reason of her Retreat, had not been produc'd, the King's own Guards would in all Probability have join'd with the enrag'd Mob, and torn the *Papish* Party to pieces, upon a Surmize that they had either made away with Her Royal Highness, or confin'd her in the *Tower*. It was not long before the King was inform'd that Her Royal Highness, with the Lady *Churchill*, (now Countess of *Marlborough*) and the Lady *Barklai*, (now Lady *Fitzbarding*) Two Persons, who shone most brightly in her Court, both by their Wit and Beauty, had taken Coach at the Bishop of *London's* House, from whence they were gone to *Nottingham*, attended by that Prelate, the Earl of *Dorset*, and about 40 Horsemen: That at *Nottingham* the Earl of *Devonshire* had given her a Guard of 200 Men; and that having left that Place, she was retired to *Oxford*, where Prince *George* soon after met her with a Detachment of the Prince of *Orange's* Forces. *The Princess Anne leaves the Court.*

The first thing the King did was to assemble all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal that were then in *London*, to consult with them about the present Exigencies. And tho' most of these Peers were such as His Majesty had either disoblig'd or neglected in the Flush of his Prosperity, yet upon this Occasion, as became noble Patriots, they all forgot their Personal Wrongs, being only intent upon the Dangers which so imminently threatned both King and Kingdom. Among the rest, the Earl of *Clarendon*, seeing the desperate Height of the Distemper, spoke with that Frankness which a good and skilful Physician ought to use on the like Occasion. He

1688.

He enumerated all the irregular and unwarrantable Proceedings of the governing Party, which occasion'd those dangerous Symptoms that appear'd in the Body Politick, and concluded, the Majority, upon a speedy calling of a free Parliament; And to remove the Difficulties that objected, they all represented to His Majesty necessary it was; *First*, To grant a general Pardon to all those that either were come over with the Prince of Orange, or had join'd with him at his Landing. *Secondly*, To depute some of the Lords to His Highness to treat with him about a Suspension of Arms, and to endeavour to bring Matters to an Accommodation. And *Lastly*, To turn immediately all Papists out of their Employments, to convince the World that His Majesty acted a sincere Part. The King took that Notice to consider of their Advice, and the next Day declar'd in Council that he was resolv'd to call a free Parliament, that should meet on the 15th of January next following; accordingly the Lord Chancellor was order'd to issue out his Writs, and a Declaration * went out, wherein His Majesty was known: *That for the Security of all Persons in their Elections and Service in Parliament, all Subjects should have free Liberty to elect, and all the Persons and such as should be elected Members of the House of Commons, should have full Liberty and Freedom to serve and sit in Parliament, notwithstanding they had taken up Arms, or committed any Act of Rebellion, or been any way aiding or assisting therein; for the better Assurance hereof, His Majesty had directed a general Pardon to all his Subjects to be prepared to pass his great Seal. And for the reconciling all publick Breaches, and obliterating the Memory of all past Miscarriages, His Majesty did hereby exhort, and kindly admonish all his Subjects, to dispose themselves to elect such Persons for their Representatives in Parliament, as might not be bias'd by Prejudice or Passion, but qualified with Parts, Experience and Prudence, proper for this Conjunction. His Majesty further declared, That he would name Commissioners to treat with the Prince of Orange.*

* Nov. 30.

but as to that part of the Lords Advice relating to the *Roman Catholicks*, His Majesty being unwilling to grant it, he only said, he would leave that Matter to be debated in Parliament. However, Sir *Edward Hales* being obnoxious to the City, (which, 'twas reported, he had threatned to Bombard) His Majesty turn'd him out of the Government of the *Tower*, and put Colonel *Skelton* in his Place, who now by a Vicissitude of Fortune, commanded in a Fortrefs where he was lately a Prisoner.

The Persons first propos'd to be sent to treat with the Prince of *Orange*, were the Marquis of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Rochester*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, with whom some would have join'd the Bishops of *Winchester* and *Ely*; but after a long Consultation, their Number was fix'd to these Three, the Marquis of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, who were allow'd to be Men of great Parts, Skill and Prudence, and who in the late Council had shew'd an extraordinary Zeal for His Majesties Preservation. The Earl of *Rochester* was indeed as capable of that important Negotiation, and as agreeable to the Prince, as any of the rest, but either he or the Marquis of *Hallifax* was to be left out, and therefore that Earl got himself excus'd. A Trumpeter was immediately dispatch'd by the Earl of *Feversham*, with a Letter to His Highness, to demand the necessary Passes. On *Sunday, Dec. 2.* the Commissioners began their Journey, and arriv'd the next Day at *Reading*, where they met the Trumpeter with His Highness's Passes; who at the same time demanded a Pass for one of his Gentlemen, whom he design'd to send to the Princess of *Denmark*. The Day before the Departure of the Commissioners, the Earl of *C—don*, without making a Mystery of it, went over to the Prince of *Orange*, which gave many occasion to think that he was gone before them, if not to baffle their Negotiation, at least to give the Prince a Jealousie of the Marquis of *H-----x*, the irreconcilable Enemy of his Family, and who began to be suspected by the *Presbyterians* themselves, since he undertook this Accommodation. Others said that the great

1688.

Warmth the Marquis had lately shewn for the King's Preservation, did not so much proceed from his Affection to his Person, as from his domineering Spirit, which made him fond of a Negotiation, which he intended to ingross to himself.

*Decem-6.

*The Prince
of Orange's
Third De-
claration,
dated at
Sherbourn
Castle, the
28th of
Novem-
ber.*


The *Popish* Party was now become so contemptible in *London*, that there was an *Hue and Cry* after *Father Petre* publicly *cried and sold in the Streets; and about the same time came out this following Declaration in the Name of the Prince of *Orange*.

" We have in the whole Course of our Life, and
" more particularly by the apparent Hazards both
" by Sea and Land, to which we have so lately
" expos'd our Person, given to the World so high
" and undoubted Proofs of our fervent Zeal to the
" Protestant Religion, that we are fully confident no
" true *Englishman* and good Protestant can enter-
" tain the least Suspicion of our firm Resolution,
" rather to spend our dearest Blood, and perish in
" the Attempt, than not to carry on the blessed
" and glorious Design, which, by the Favour of
" Heaven, we have so successfully begun, to rescue
" *England, Scotland* and *Ireland* from Popery and
" Slavery, and in a free Parliament to establish the Re-
" ligion, the Laws and the Liberties of these King-
" doms on such a sure and lasting Foundation, that
" it shall not be in the Power of any Prince for the
" future to introduce *Popery* and *Tyranny*.

" Towards the more ealie compassing this great
" Design, we have not been hitherto deceiv'd in the
" just Expectation we had of the Concurrence of
" the Nobility, Gentry, and People of *England*
" with us, for the Security of their Religion, and
" the Establishment of their Liberties and Properties.
" Great Numbers of all Ranks and Qualities have
" join'd themselves to us; and others, at great Di-
" stances from us, have taken up Arms, and declar'd
" for us. And which we cannot but particularly men-
" tion, in that Army which was rais'd to be the In-
" strument of Slavery and Popery, many, by the spe-
" cial Providence of God, both Officers and com-
" mon Soldiers, have been touch'd with such a
" feeling Sense of Religion and Honour, and of
" true Affection to their native Country, that
" they

“ they have already deserted the illegal Service
“ they were engag’d in, and have come over to
“ us, and have given us full Assurance from the
“ rest of the Army, that they will certainly follow
“ this Example, as soon as we shall approach near
“ enough to receive them without Hazard of being
“ prevented or betray’d. To which end, and that we
“ may the sooner execute this just and necessary De-
“ sign, we are engag’d in for the publick Safety, and
“ Deliverance of these Nations, we are resolv’d
“ with all possible Diligence to advance forwards;
“ that a free Parliament may be forthwith call’d;
“ and such Preliminaries adjusted with the King,
“ and all things first settled upon such a Foot ac-
“ cording to Law, as may give us and the whole
“ Nation just Reason to believe; the King is dis-
“ pos’d to make such necessary Condescensions on
“ his Part, as will give entire Satisfaction and Se-
“ curity to all; and make both King and People
“ once more happy.

“ And that we may effect all this, in the way
“ most agreeable to our Desires, if it be possible,
“ without the Effusion of any Blood, except of
“ those execrable Criminals who have justly for-
“ feited their Lives for betraying the Religion, and
“ subverting the Laws of their native Country;
“ we do think fit to declare; That as we will offer no
“ Violence to any; but in our own necessary Defence;
“ so we will not suffer any Injury to be done to the
“ Person, even of any *Papist*, provided he be found
“ in such Place, and Condition, and Circumstan-
“ ces, as the Law requires. So we are resolv’d, and
“ do declare, That all *Papists* who shall be found
“ in open Arms, or with Arms in their Houses; or
“ about their Persons, or in any Office Civil or
“ Military, upon any Pretence whatsoever, contra-
“ ry to the known Laws of the Land, shall be
“ treated by us and our Forces, not as Soldiers and
“ Gentlemen, but as Robbers, Free-booters; and
“ *Banditti*, they shall be incapable of Quarter; and
“ entirely deliver’d up to the Discretion of our Sol-
“ diers. And we do further declare; That all Per-
“ sons who shall be found any Ways aiding or as-
“ sisting to them; or shall march under their Com-
“ mand

1688.  "mand, or shall join with, or submit to them in
 "the Discharge or Execution of their illegal Com-
 "missions or Authority, shall be look'd upon as
 "Partakers of their Crimes, Enemies to the Laws,
 "and to their Country.

"And whereas we are certainly inform'd, that
 "great Numbers of armed *Papists* have of late
 "resorted to *London* and *Westminster*, and Parts ad-
 "jacent, where they remain, as we have Reason
 "to suspect, not so much for their own Security,
 "as out of a wicked and barbarous Design, to make
 "some desperate Attempt upon the said Cities,
 "and their Inhabitants, by Fire, or a sudden Mas-
 "sacre, or both; or else to be the more ready
 "to join themselves to a Body of *French* Troops,
 "design'd, if it be possible, to land in *England*, pro-
 "cur'd of the *French* King, by the Interest and Pow-
 "er of the *Jesuits*, in Pursuance of the Engage-
 "ments, which, at the Instigation of that pesti-
 "lent Society, his most Christian Majesty, with one
 "of his neighbouring Princes of the same Com-
 "munion, has enter'd into for the utter Extirpation
 "of the Protestant Religion out of *Europe*. Tho',
 "we hope, we have taken such effectual Care to
 "prevent the one, and secure the other, that by
 "God's Assistance we cannot doubt but we shall
 "defeat all their wicked Enterprizes and Designs.

"We cannot however forbear, out of the great
 "and tender Concern we have to preserve the
 "People of *England*, and particularly those great
 "and populous Cities, from the cruel Rage and
 "bloody Revenge of the *Papists*, to require and
 "expect from all the Lord-Lieutenants, Deputy-
 "Lieutenants, and Justices of the Peace, Lord-
 "Mayors, Mayors, Sheriffs, and all other Magi-
 "strates and Officers, Civil and Military, of all
 "Counties, Cities and Towns of *England*, especial-
 "ly of the County of *Middlesex*, and Cities of *Lon-*
 "*don* and *Westminster*, and Parts adjacent, that
 "they do immediately disarm and secure, as by
 "Law they may and ought, within their respective
 "Counties, Cities, and Jurisdictions, all *Papists*
 "whatsoever, as Persons, at all times, but now
 "especi-

“ especially, most dangerous to the Peace and Safety
“ of the Government, that so not only all Power
“ of doing Mischief may be taken from them ;
“ but that the Laws, which are the greatest and
“ best Security, may resume their Force, and be
“ strictly executed.

“ And we do hereby likewise declare, that we
“ will protect and defend all those who shall not
“ be afraid to do their Duty in Obedience to these
“ Laws. And that for those Magistrates, and others,
“ of what Condition soever they be, who shall re-
“ fuse to assist us, and in Obedience to the Laws,
“ to execute vigorously what we have requir'd of
“ them, and suffer themselves at this Juncture to
“ be cajoled or terrified out of their Duty, we will
“ esteem them the most criminal and infamous
“ of all Men; Betrayers of their Religion, the
“ Laws, and their native Country, and shall
“ not fail to treat them accordingly; resolving to
“ expect and require at their Hands the Life of
“ every single Protestant that shall perish, and eve-
“ ry House that shall be burnt or destroy'd by their
“ Treachery and Cowardice.

Whoever was the Author of this Declaration, which the Prince of *Orange* disown'd, it did His Highness no small Service; The *Roman Catholics* were alarm'd at it; and several Justices of Peace caus'd it to be publish'd. A certain Captain did likewise boldly deliver a Copy of it to the Lord-Mayor of *London*, charging him, before Witnesses, to see it put in Execution; and the inferior Officers of Justice desir'd his Lordship's Assistance, that they might obey His Highness's Orders. An Accusation against the Earl of *Salisbury* for infringing the most sacred Laws of the Kingdom, by turning a *Papist*, was preferr'd to the Grand Jury of *Middlesex*, who found the Bill against the said Earl.

While these things past in *London*, the Duke of *Norfolk*, hereditary Earl-Marshal of *England*, and Lord Lieutenant of the County, whose Name he bore, summon'd all the Gentry of those Parts to meet him at *Norwich*, where being assembled, left

1688. the City should be alarm'd at the extraordinary

Concourse of People, he made a Speech to the Mayor in the Market-Place, acquainting him: *The Duke of Nor-*
folk's
Speech to
the Mayor
of N. r-
wich, Dec.
1.
See State-
Tract, p.
437, &c.
 " That out of a deep Sense he and the others
 " there had met, that in the present unhappy
 " Juncture of Affairs, nothing could better secure the
 " Laws, Liberties, and Protestant Religion, than a
 " *free Parliament*. they were there met to pronounce
 " that they would do their utmost to defend the
 " same, by declaring for such a *free Parliament*.
 " And since His Majesty had been pleas'd to or-
 " der Writs for such a Parliament, he could only
 " add in the Name of himself, and of all those
 " Gentlemen, and others there met, that they
 " would ever be ready to support and defend the
 " the Laws, Liberties and Protestant Religion.
 And so, said he, *God save th: King*, In this the
 Mayor, Aldermen, and the rest of the Corporation,
 and a numerous Assembly, did unanimously con-
 cur with His Grace and the rest of the Gentry.

Decem. 6. Five Days * after the Mayor and Corporation of
King's-Lynn presented an Address to the Duke of
 Norfolk, humbly desiring him: *That they might be*
put into such a Posture by His Grace's Direction and
Conduct, as might make them appear as zealous as any
in the Defence of the Protestant Religion, the Laws
and ancient Government. To which His Grace an-
 swer'd, *That no Man would venture his Life and*
Fortune more freely for the Defence of the Laws, Li-
berties and Protestant Religion, than he would do;
and with all the Gentlemen there present, and many
more, would procure a Settlement in Church and State,
in Concurrence with the Lords and Gentlemen in the
North, and pursuant to the Declaration of the Prince
of Orange. And according to their Desire, he or-
 der'd the *Militia*, both Horse and Foot, to be
 rais'd throughout the County; whereupon the
 Tradesmen, Seamen and *Mobile*, put *Orange Rib-*
 bon in their Hats, ecchoing *Huzza's* to the Prince
 of *Orange*, and Duke of *Norfolk*. About the same
 time the Duke of *Ormond* being gone to *Oxford*
 with a Party of the Prince of *Orange's* Troops,
 caus'd His Highness's Declaration to be publickly
 read

read in that famous University; the Town of *Berwick* follow'd the Example of *York*, and declar'd for the Prince; and Five Commissioners from *Scotland*, of whose Number were the Duke of *Queensbury*, and the Earl of *Belcarris*, were coming up to *London*, to demand a free *Parliament* in that Kingdom. 1688.

All these Motions made the Court very uneasy: Nor were they less impatient to know how their Commissioners would be receiv'd by the Prince of *Orange*: For some began to fear that something more was now aim'd at, besides the securing the Protestant Religion, the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and that His Majesty's Crown, if not his Person, was in Danger. 'Twas not His Highness's coming over with an Army that gave the *Popish* Party these Apprehensions, but rather the general Discontents of the Nobility, Clergy and People, and a severe Examination of their own illegal Proceedings in a free Parliament; and therefore 'twas resolv'd that the Royal Family should cross the Sea as soon as these Surmises should attain to a greater Degree of Certainty. On the Sixth of *December* the Three Commissioners acquainted the King, that they were to meet the Prince of *Orange* that Night at *Amberbury*; but the next Day they inform'd His Majesty that His Highness having appointed them at *Hungerford*, he had sent to them the Earls of *Oxford* and *Clarendon*, to desire them to make their Proposals in Writing. This Message of the Prince of *Orange* was interpreted contemptuous; not only because he refus'd to treat by Word of Mouth with His Majesties Commissioners, but also because he had deputed to them Two Persons, of whom one had never been concern'd in any publick Affair, and the other was sworn Enemy to the Marquis of *Hallifax*, the principal Manager on the King's Part. From these first Steps, and from a particular Letter of one of the three Commissioners, the most addicted to the King's Interest, the *Popish* Cabal, particularly Mr. *Barillon*, the French Ambassador, and Count *Lanzun*, began to doubt the Success of this Negotiation, and pressingly ad-

1688. vis'd the King to secure himself, his Queen, & the Prince of *Wales*, by a speedy Recess from *England*. In the mean time, upon the News of the Prince's Forces advancing towards *Reading*, to prevent further Desertions, the King's Army that quarter'd there was order'd to march nearer *London*, and to fix the Head Quarters at *Colbrook*. On the Eighth of *December*, the Court being inform'd that 'twas only a Detachment of His Highness's Horse that was advanc'd to *Newbury*, the Royal Forces were remanded to their old Post, and the same Day the Earl of *Feverham* return'd to *Maidenhead*, where were the Head Quarters. The next Day the King's Troops marching thither, the Town's People, who had very much suffer'd by their quartering amongst them before, invited some of the Prince of *Orange*'s Forces that lay so far off, to take Possession of that Post, to secure themselves against the *Violences* of the *Irish*. Colonel *Lanier*, who commanded the Royal Detachment, being come to *Reading* first, posted his Companies of *Irish* Dragoons to defend a *hatch* over which His Highness's Troops were to pass, and drew up in Battalia in the Market-Place the *Scotch* Regiment of Horse. Upon the Appearance of a small Party of His Highness's Cavalry, the *Irish* made a Discharge, and abandon'd their Post, the *Scotch*, who had no Inclination to fight, follow'd their Example, and fled in Disorder, till they were rallied by the Earl of *Feverham*, who was coming up to support 'em. Of the *Irish* not many were kill'd, and as few taken. However, the Court complain'd that the *Town* People shot at them behind from their Windows, whilst the Prince's Horse charg'd 'em before; but they justified themselves, by saying, That the fear the *Irish* were in made them to fancy they were attack'd on every side, which, at this Juncture, the Court thought fit to believe. *Maidenhead* Bridge was also fortified, and its Defence committed to the *Irish*; but some of the Townsmen being a *Dutch* March in the Night, in order to alarm them, this Stratagem took so well, that the *Irish* abandon'd it.

abandon'd their Post in Confusion, leaving their great Guns behind them. 1688.

King *James* having resolv'd to retire to *France*, his first Care was to send thither his Royal Consort and his Son, who was brought * up to *London* from *Portsmouth* with as much Secrecie as he was carried thither. 'Twas in the Night, between

* Saturday
the 8th of
December.

the 9th and 10th of *December*, that the Count (afterwards Duke) of *Lauzun*, being, as I have hinted before, at the Court of *England*, concerted with His Majesty the Flight of the Queen and the young Prince, and by one of the most happy Adventures of his Life, was successful in his Undertaking.

The Queen
and Prince
of Wales
are convey'd
into France,
Decem. 10.

Riva, an *Italian*, a Domestick of that Princess, and *Labadie*, a *French* Man, Page of the Back-Stairs to the King, both Persons of experienc'd Fidelity, were charg'd to provide all things necessary for their Voyage, and to convey them from *Whitehall* to the Yatch His Majesty had appointed to carry Count *Lauzun* to *France*. 'Twas not without a great

See Hi-
stoire des
Revolutions
d'Angleterre;
by Father
d'Oleans.

deal of Danger of being stop't and discover'd, that a Queen and a Prince, scarce Five Months old, went out of their Palace at a time full of Suspicion, and when the least Cry of the Babe might have broke the best concerted Measures. However, the Queen in Disguise, accompanied by the Marquis of *Pompey*, the Marchioness his Wife, Governess to the Prince; the Countess *Dalmon*, *Signora Vittoria Montecuculi*, lately arriv'd from *Italy*, *Signora Pelegrina Turini*, the wet and dry Nurses, and perhaps a Woman or two more, stole through a privy Stairs to the Water-side, cross'd the *Thames* in a dark Night, expos'd to the Wind, the Rain, and the Roughness of the River; and being got on the other side, waited near the Walls of a Chappel, insulted by the stormy Weather, till the Coaches were got ready in the next Inn. The Curiosity of a Man, who at the same time went out of the Inn, and was making towards the Queen with a Lanthorn in his Hand, made Her Majesty afraid of being discover'd; when *Riva* fearing the same, follow'd him immediately, and shock'd him so rudely, that both fell into the Dirt. This was a lucky Diversion; for the Fellow

attri-

1688. attributing this Fail to chance, he and *Riva* b
 one another's Pardon, and the thing went no
 ther. The Queen and her Attendance took C
 and being come a Ship-board at *Gravesend*, *La*
 Wife. who was acquainted with the Captai
 mus'd him for a while, till the Queen, that
 for an *Italian* Lady, who was returning to h
 tive Country with all her Family, was got in
 Cabin which had been prepar'd for her.
Irish Captains embark'd at the same time,
 appointed by the King to have an Eye upon
 that commanded the Yatch, in case, upon
 Suspicion or other, he should have refus'd to
 This Precaution prov'd unnecessary; the
 having put to Sea, had a very quick Passage,
 safely landed at *Calais*. Where the Queen w
 have stay'd for the King, her Husband, who a
 ding to their Agreement was to follow her the
 the next Day; but that Prince not appearing,
 went to *Bouloign*, where Two Monks and a
 ficer that had made their Escape from Eng
 acquainted Her Majesty, that the King was n
 near *Feversham* as he endeavour'd to come;
 which left that Princess in a cruel Suspense
 His Majesties Fate, till being arriv'd at *Mar*
 she learnt other News, which somewhat comfort
 her, and dispos'd her Mind to be more sensib
 that generous and Royal Welcome, by which
 King of *France* endeavour'd to alleviate Her
 fortunes.

Immediately after the Queen's Departure, H
 Majesty, to cover his Design of following her, he
 publicly he would return to the Head of his for
 ces, and fight the Prince of *Orange*; which however
 did not agree with the sending part of the Artill
 ry into the *Tower*. Nevertheless, that same Evening
 being *Monday*, the 10th. of *December*, the Life-Gua
 were order'd to be ready to attend him to *Uxbrid*
 but instead of going to the Army, His Majesty w
 Water at *Whitehall* Privy Stairs at Two a Clock
 the Morning, accompanied only by Sir *Edm*
Hales, Mr. *Sheldon*, and *Labadie*, without c
 municating his Design to any of his chief O
 Off

Officers, (no, not to the Lord Dover himself, tho' formerly his Favourite) with whom he had a long Conversation. One thing which hastned the King's Departure, and which went very near his Heart, was the News he receiv'd, that a Batallion of Douglas's Regiment, on whose Fidelity he intirely depended, was gone over to the Prince; That all the Soldiers of that Batallion, without any Officer to head 'em, were retir'd into a little Wood in good Order, threatening to kill the Major and other Officers who advanc'd towards them with Design to bring 'em back; That a Body of Horse being commanded upon the same Attempt, the chief Officers thought fit to return, because the Troops made a Shew of joining with those Deserters; And that four Popish Captains of that Batallion had surrendred their Commissions at Maidenhead, where they quarter'd. Before the King went away, he order'd the Broad Seal to be thrown into the Thames, and that all those Writs that were not sent out for the sitting of the Parliament should be burnt, and a Caveat be enter'd against making use of those few that were sent out already. To this he added a Letter for the Earl of Feversham, where-
in he tells him, *That things being come to that Extremity, that he had been forc'd to send away the Queen, and his Son the Prince of Wales, that they might not fall into the Enemies Hands, which they must have done if they had staid; That he was oblig'd to do the same thing, in hopes it would please God out of his infinite Mercy to this unhappy Nation, to touch their Hearts again with true Loyalty and Honour. That if he could have rely'd on all his Troops, he might not have been put to the Extremity he was then in, and would at least have had one Blow for it; but tho' he knew there were many valiant and brave Men amongst them, both Officers and Soldiers, yet the Earl knew likewise, that both he, and several of the general Officers and Soldiers, and Men of the Army, told him, That it was no ways adviseable for him to venture himself at their Head, or to think of fighting the Prince of Orange with them. That now there remain'd only for him to thank the Earl, and all those, both Officers*
and

King
James's
Letter to
the Earl of
Feversham.

1688. *and Soldiers, who had stuck to him, and been so loyal. That he hop'd the Earl would still retain same Fidelity to him; and tho' he did not expect they should expose themselves, by resisting a Foreign Army and a Poison'd Nation, yet he hop'd their former Principles were so rooted in them, that they would keep themselves free from Associations, and such pernicious Things.*

The King's Departure being noised abroad, the Duke of Northumberland went to the Earl of Rochester, to acquaint him with his Design of going over to the Prince; but the Earl advis'd him to save himself that Trouble, and rather to attend his Troop of Guards, and declare for His Majesty, which accordingly he did. The Marquis Miremont follow'd his Example, and turn'd out the Papists out of his Regiment of Horse. The principal Officers of the Army about the Town met at Whitehall, and sent an Express to the Duke of Orange, to acquaint him with the King's going away, and to assure him that they would assist the Lord-Mayor to keep the City quiet till His Highness's coming; and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in and about the Cities of London and Westminster; to wit, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of Winchester, St. Asaph, Ely, Rochester and Peterborough; the Earls of Pembroke, Dorset, Mulgrave, Thanet, Carlisle, Gloucester, Ailesbury, Burlington, Barkclay and Rochester; Viscounts Newport and Weymouth; and the Lords Wharton, North and Grey, Chandois, Montagu, Myn, Vaughan, Carbery, Culpeper, Crewe, and Ston, assembled at Guild-hall, where having consulted the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, they made the following Declaration.

*The Lords
Declaration,
Dec. 11.*

" We doubt not but the World believes that
" this great and dangerous Conjunction, We
" heartily and zealously concern'd for the Protestant Religion, the Laws of the Land, and the Liberties and Properties of the Subject.
" We did reasonably hope that the King having issued out his Proclamation and Writs for a Parliament, We might have rested secure

“ the Expectation of that meeting: But His
 “ Majesty having withdrawn himself, and, as
 “ We apprehend, in order to his Departure out
 “ of this Kingdom, by the pernicious Counsels
 “ of Persons ill-affected to our Nation and Religi-
 “ on, We cannot, without being wanting to our
 “ Duty, be silent under those Calamities, wherein
 “ the *Popish* Counsels, which so long prevail’d,
 “ have miserably involv’d these Realms. We do
 “ therefore unanimously resolve to apply our selves
 “ to His Highness the Prince of *Orange*, who with
 “ so great Kindness to these Kingdoms, such vast
 “ Expence, and so much Hazard to his own Per-
 “ son, has undertaken, by endeavouring to pro-
 “ cure a free Parliament to rescue us, with as little
 “ Effusion, as possible, of Christian Blood, from
 “ the imminent Dangers of Slavery and Popery.

“ And We do hereby declare, That we will,
 “ with our utmost Endeavours, assist His High-
 “ ness in the obtaining such a Parliament with
 “ all speed, wherein our Laws, our Liberties and
 “ Properties may be secured, and the Church of
 “ *England* in particular, with a due Liberty to *Pro-*
 “ *testant* Dissenters, and in general, that the *Prote-*
 “ *stant* Religion and Interest over the whole
 “ World may be supported and encourag’d, to the
 “ Glory of God, the Happiness of the Establish’d
 “ Government in these Kingdoms, and the Ad-
 “ vantage of all Princes and States in *Christendom*,
 “ that may be herein concern’d.

“ In the mean time We will endeavour to pre-
 “ serve, as much as in Us lyes, the Peace and Se-
 “ curity of these great and populous Cities of
 “ *London* and *Westminster*, and the Parts adjacent,
 “ by taking Care to disarm all *Papists*, and secure
 “ all *Jesuits* and *Romish* Priests, who are in or about
 “ the same.

“ And if there be any thing more to be per-
 “ form’d by Us, for promoting His Highness’s ge-
 “ nerosus Intentions for the Publick Good, We
 “ shall be ready to do it, as Occasion shall require.

This Declaration being subscrib’d by the fore-
 mention’d Peers, the Earl of *Pembroke*, Viscount
Wey-

1688. *Weymouth*, the Bishop of *Ely*, and the Lord *Calpeper*, were desir'd forthwith to attend His Highness with it; and at the same time to acquaint him, amongst other things which they had further done at that Meeting, That having sent for Colonel *Skelton*, then Lieutenant of the *Tower*, they had demanded the Keys of him, which he willingly resigning, they had bestowed the Government of that Fortress upon the Lord *Lucas*, a Person of unquestion'd Honour, and a sincere Lover of his Country. Which Choice was afterwards confirm'd by the Prince of *Orange*.

Lord Lucas made Lieutenant of the Tower.

The Lieutenant of London address the Prince of Orange, Decem. 11.

The Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of London's Address to the Prince of Orange.

The same Day the Lieutenantcy of the City of *London* made an Address to the Prince of *Orange*, to acknowledge the happy Relief he had brought to them, and humbly to desire His Highness to repair to *London* with what convenient Speed he could, for perfecting the great Work he had so happily begun to the Satisfaction of them all; and order'd Sir *Robert Clayton*, Sir *William Russel*, Sir *Basil Firebrass*, and *Charles Duncomb*, Esq; to attend His Highness with the said Address. Upon this Occasion Mr. (since Sir *Charles*) *Duncomb* very generously offer'd his Purse to His Highness, which seasonable and signal Piece of Service King *William* has since acknowledged. At the same time the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of *London*, in Common-Council assembled, drew up also an Address, wherein they presented their most humble Thanks to His Highness, particularly for his appearing in Arms in this Kingdom, to rescue *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* from Popery and Slavery. And told him, That finding themselves disappointed of a Remedy from the Oppressions they labour'd under, by His Majesties withdrawing himself, they present'd and make His Highness their Refuge; and did in the Name of this Capital City, implore His Highness's Protection, and beseech him to vouchsafe to repair to this City, when His Highness would be receiv'd with Universal Joy. This Address was presented to the Prince of *Orange* by Four Aldermen, and Eight Common-Council Men.

Tho' the Trained-Bands of *London* and *Westmin-* 1688.

ster were now in Arms, both to prevent all ill Designs from the *Papists*, and to preserve those Twin-Cities in Peace and Safety till His Highness's Arrival; nevertheless, that giddy Part of the People which delights in Tumults, took Advantage of this time of Anarchy to make their Eruptions: And as the *Papists* were the chief Occasion of the present Distractions, so they were the principal Sufferers by them. The new-erected Mass-Houses, both in the City and Suburbs, were pull'd down and destroy'd, and their Materials, burnt with riotous Acclamations, while common Thieves mixing with the more harmless Apprentices, took Opportunity to rifle the Houses of the *Spanish* and *Florentine* Ambassadors; in the first of which, the best Effects of abundance of *Roman Catholics*, and even the Holy Utensils of the Royal Chappels were deposited, as it were, in an *Azylum*. All that the Mob could not carry away, or whose Value they did not understand, was committed to the Flames, and among the rest a fine Library, with several curious Manuscripts. This Accident was the more surprizing, because of all the foreign Ministers, *Don Pedro de Ronquillo* was most belov'd by the People; so that many did not stick to say, He was accessary to the robbing of his own House, and that he had not the least Share of the Plunder; tho' he was afterwards largely recompenced by the Parliament for the Losses he had sustain'd in this Hurly-burly. The *French* Ambassador's House and Chappel were preserv'd by the Neighbourhood of some Noblemen, who caus'd their own Houses to be well guarded; and the Resident of *Venice* was secur'd by a Detachment of Soldiers; but the King's Printing-House suffer'd considerable Damage; all the Paper that was found in it, whether printed or not, serving only for a Bonfire.

The King's Commissioners returning to *London* the same Day His Majesty had left his Palace, were much surpriz'd to learn his sudden Departure, because they brought with them such an Answer from the Prince to their Proposals, as ought not

1688. to have alarm'd the King; of which they
 already inform'd His Majesty, by an Express
 * Dec. 8. receiv'd Two or Three Hours before he left W
Proposals ball. The Proposals deliver'd to His Highness
deliver'd to *Hungerford* by the Commissioners were as follo
the Prince

of Orange
 by the Com-
 missioners.

S I R,

“ THE King commanded Us to acquaint You
 “ he observes all the Differences and Can
 “ Complaint alledg'd by Your Highness for
 “ be referr'd to a free Parliament. His Maj
 “ he has already declar'd, was resolv'd before
 “ to call one, but thought that in the present
 “ of Affairs it was adviseable to defer it till
 “ were more compos'd. Yet seeing that his
 “ ple still continue to desire it, He has put
 “ His Proclamation in order to it, and has
 “ forth His Writs for the calling of it. And
 “ prevent any Cause of Interruption in it, He
 “ consent to every thing that can be reasonab
 “ quir'd for the Security of all those that shal
 “ to it. His Majesty has therefore sent Us to
 “ Your Highness for the adjusting of all Ma
 “ that shall be agreed to be necessary to the
 “ dom of Elections, and the Security of the
 “ and is ready immediately to enter into a Tr
 “ in order to it. His Majesty proposes, that in
 “ mean time the respective Armies may be
 “ strain'd within such Limits, and at such a dist
 “ from *London*, as may prevent the Apprehen
 “ that the Parliament may in any kind be distur
 “ being desirous that the meeting of it may
 “ no longer delay'd, than it must be by the
 “ and necessary Forms.

The Prince The Prince of *Orange* having receiv'd this P
of Orange's continued his March towards *London*; and
Proposals, arriv'd at *Littlecote*, the next Day, with the
Decem. 9. of the Lords and Gentlemen assembled with
 His Highness made these following Proposals
 Answer to those from His Majesty.

“ I. **T**HAT all *Papists*, and all such Persons as
 “ are not qualified by Law, be Disarmed,
 “ Disbanded, and Removed from all Employments,
 “ Civil and Military. II. That all Proclamations
 “ which reflect upon Us, or any that have come to
 “ Us, or declar’d for Us, be recall’d; and that if
 “ any Persons for having so assisted, have been com-
 “ mitted, that they be forthwith set at Liberty.
 “ III. That for the Security and Safety of the City
 “ of *London*, the Custody and Government of the
 “ *Tower* be immediately put into the Hands of
 “ the said City. IV. That if His Majesty shall
 “ think fit to be at *London*, during the sitting of
 “ the Parliament, that We may be there also, with
 “ equal Number of our Guards. Or if His Maje-
 “ sty shall please to be in any Place from *London*, at
 “ whatever Distance he thinks fit, that We may
 “ be at a Place of the same Distance. And that the
 “ respective Armies do remove from *London* Thir-
 “ ty Miles, and that no more foreign Forces be
 “ brought into the Kingdom. V. That for the Se-
 “ curity of the City of *London*, and their Trade, *Til-*
 “ *bury* Fort be put into the Hands of the said City.
 “ VI. That to prevent the landing of *French*, or
 “ other Foreign Troops, *Portsmouth* may be put into
 “ such Hands as by Your Majesty and Us shall be
 “ agreed upon. VII. That some sufficient part of
 “ the publick Revenue be assign’d Us, for the main-
 “ taining of our Forces, until the meeting of a free
 “ Parliament.

The Earl of *Feverham*, and the other General
 Officers, who had follow’d him to *Uxbridge*, to
 attend the King’s coming, receiv’d His Majesties
 Letter the same Day, and read it aloud to the Troops;
 which drew Tears from most of them. There-
 upon they held a Council of War, and concluded
 from that Letter, that since the King *did not expect*
they should resist a Foreign Army, his Intention was;
 that the rest of the Army should be disbanded;
 and accordingly Four Thousand Men the Earl had
 then with him, were immediately licentiated.

1688. After this he sent the following Letter to the Prince of *Orange*, subscribed by himself, and by Three general Officers.

S I R,

“ HAVING receiv’d this Morning a Letter from
 “ His Majesty, with the unfortunate News
 “ of his Resolution to go out of *England*, I thought
 “ my self oblig’d, being at the Head of his Army,
 “ and having receiv’d his Orders to make no
 “ Opposition against any Body, to let Your
 “ Highness know it, with the Advite of the Offi-
 “ cers here, so soon as was possible, to hinder the
 “ Effusion of Blood. I have order’d already, to
 “ that Purpose, all the Troops that are under my
 “ Command, which shall be the last Order they
 “ shall receive from *Feversham, Lanier, Fenwick,*
 “ *Oglethorp.*

*False Al-
 arm
 throughout
 all Eng-
 land, Dec.
 13.*

The Trumpeter the Earl of *Feversham* had dis-
 patch’d with his Letter to the Prince, return’d
 without an Answer; which shew’d His High-
 ness did not approve his Conduct in this Criti-
 cal Conjunction; and indeed most of the Lords in
London blam’d that General for Disbanding the
 Army in so hasty a manner, without, at least, the
 Advice of the Peers of the Realm, if he thought it
 too much to wait for His Highness’s Directions.
 A panick Fear, which the next Day alarm’d the
 City of *London*, contributed much to the Censure
 which the Earl incurr’d: Some Country Fellows
 arriving towards Midnight at *Westminster*, caus’d
 a sudden Uproar, by reporting that the *Irish*, in a
 desperate Rage, were approaching *London*, firing the
 Houses, and putting Man, Woman and Child to
 the Sword. This false Report gather’d as it went
 along, so that in few Moments, not only the Train-
 ed-Bands and disciplin’d Troops appear’d in Arms,
 but every Body leaving their Beds, plac’d Lights in
 their Windows, betook themselves, with half their
 Cloaths on, the most fearful to Flight, the most re-
 solute to their Weapons: And what is most strange,
 this Alarm spread it self the same Night over the
 whole

whole Kingdom, and all that were able to carry Arms, vowed the Defence of their Lives, Laws, Religion and Liberties, and stood resolv'd to destroy all the *Irish* and *Papists* in *England*, in case any Injury were offer'd them. Some said, That this general Fright was occasion'd by Seven or Eight, *Irish* Soldiers, who having no Money, resolv'd to keep themselves from starving, by forcibly entering into a Country House: Whilst they were tussling with those who would have thrust them out, a paltry Cottage happen'd to catch Fire, whereupon all the neighbouring Towns and Villages rang their Alarm Bells, which were ecchoed throughout all *England*. Some *Politicians* assign'd another Cause (which was most probable) of this universal Terror, and said it was industriously propagated by the Directions of Duke *Schomberg*, both to feel the Pulse of the Nation, and to inspire them with Resentment against the *Papish* Party, by letting them see to what Dangers they were reduc'd by the bringing of *Irish* Troops into the Kingdom.

The Day before this Consternation, Chancellor *Jeffreys*, whom every Body thought to be gone with the King, having disguis'd and absconded himself in a Seaman's House in *Wapping*, in order to his Escape beyond Sea; as he was looking out of the Window in a Seaman's *Monmouth-Cap*, was discover'd by a Clerk in *Chancery*, that accidentally pass'd by. Thereupon he was immediately apprehended, and after a fair Deliverance from the Mob, that would have torn him to pieces, carried before the Lord-Mayor, who fell into a Fit of an *Apoplexy*, whilst he was asking him some Questions; the same Day the Peers assembled at *Whitehall* with some of the Privy-Council, committed him to *Tower*, where the Conscience of his Crimes (particularly the Death of the Lady *Lisle*) pursuing him, he endeavour'd to drown his Remorses in Wine, which put him into a Fever, and that cost him his Life. Thus ended his Days, George *Jeffreys*, Baron of *Wem*, a Man of great natural Parts, and who might have challeng'd a Place among the First-Rate Lawyers of *England*, if he had been steady

Chancellor

Jeffreys

apprehend-

ed, Dec. 12.

He dies.

His Character.

1688. in his Principles, and not made his Talents truckle to his Ambition; but being sway'd by the Lust of Honours and Riches, he roar'd more loudly against the Protestants, when Lord Chancellor, in King *James's* Reign, than he had inveigh'd against the *Papists* in the time of the *Popish Plot*, when he was Recorder of the City of *London*.

The Prince The Prince of *Orange*, in the mean time, was advanced as far as Henry with the greatest part of his Army, and finding the King's Troops, now without a Head, to commit many Disorders, His Highness issued out a Declaration, setting forth: *That being inform'd that divers Regiments, Troops and Companies, had been encourag'd to disperse themselves in an unusual and unwarrantable manner, whereby the publick Peace was very much disturb'd, He had thought fit hereby to require all Colonels and Commanders in chief of such Regiments, &c. to call together the several Officers and Soldiers belonging to their respective Regiments in such Places as they should find most convenient for their Rendezvous, and there to keep them in good Order and Discipline. And His Highness did likewise direct and require all such Officers and Soldiers forthwith to repair to such Places as should be appointed for that Purpose by their Commanders in chief, whereof speedy Notice was to be given to His Highness for his further Orders.*

At the same time His Highness sent a Letter to the Earl of *Danby*, to desire him to come to him, and order'd Mr. *Blaithwait*, Secretary of War, to bring him an Account of the King's Army. He also dispatch'd the Lord *Churchill* to *London*, to reassemble his Troop of Life-Guards, and directed the Duke of *Grafton* to go and take Possession of *Tilbury Fort*, with his Regiment of Foot Guards. The Duke was marching through the *Strand* at the Head of his Regiment, when an *Irish Trooper* of *Salisbury's* Regiment, galloping down *Catharine-street* like a mad Man, took his Aim at his Grace with his Carabine; one of the Duke's Grenadiers was quicker than the Trooper, and shot him immediately from his Horse; nor did he live long enough to confess the Reason of so desperate an Attempt.

Attempt. The Duke of Grafton went on towards *Tilbury*, where the *Irish* that guarded that Post, not thinking themselves safe, resolved to make their Escape beyond Sea, and for that Purpose seiz'd upon a Merchant-man bound for *Smyrna*; but the Seamen, as they sail'd down the River, run the Vessel on Shoar, where Multitudes of People flocking together, the *Irish* paid dear for their Temerity.

Let's return to the King. His Majesty, with His Three Followers, having cross'd the *Thames* at *Whitehall*, went by Land as far as a certain Place near *Faversham*, where he embark'd in a small Vessel that was to carry him to a Frigate, commanded by *Magdonel*, a faithful and stout *Irish* Captain, who waited for His Majesty at *Margate*. The Weather was stormy, and the Vessel wanted Ballast; now whilst the Seamen were busie in bringing it in, *Hales* sent his Footman to the Post-Office at *Faversham*: A Gunner belonging to *Dover-Castle*, whom *Hales* had formerly cashier'd, knew presently the Footman by his Livery, and dogging him to the River-side, he saw him make Signs to some People that were aboard a Bark. Thereupon he assembled the Fishermen, Seamen, and other Free-booters of that Place, who at this time took upon themselves to search all the Ships that went by, and made bold to stop, and at least, to rob all Passengers whom they suspected to be Priests, assuring them of a good Booty in that Bark where *Sir Edward Hales* must infallibly be. Encourag'd by this short Harangue, they immediately boarded the Vessel, and meeting first of all with *Hales*, their Joy was extraordinary, *Hales* being equally well known, and very much hated in that Coun-

The King
taken at
Faver-
sham,
Dec. 12.

ty; a
Chap
Person
this fa
they
findin
ral v
they

y suppos'd him to be *Hales's*
re a Bob Wig; besides, the
so gross to be nam'd) which
put upon their Sovereign,
; from His Majesty; and
reat Sum of Money, seve-
l other Jewels about him,
him to be something more
than

1688. than an ordinary Priest. Abundance of People being by this time gather'd on the Shoar, some of them went into the Ship, and amongst these a Constable, who acknowledging his Sovereign through his Disguise, fell presently at his Feet, begg'd His Majesty to forgive the Rudeness of the unruly Mob, and bid the Fellows to return him what they had robb'd him of; but the King would only receive the Jewels, and gave the Gold amongst 'em. His Majesty told the Constable he hop'd he would use him well; and when he saw every Body paid him the Respect due to a Monarch, he earnestly endeavour'd to be gone; but the People being unwilling to let him, His Majesty then sent for the Earl of *Winchelsea*, who prevail'd with him not to leave the Kingdom, and whom he made Lord Lieutenant of the County, and Governor of *Dover-Castle*. This strange Adventure fill'd the City of *London* with joyful Surprize, most People being glad of an Opportunity to convince the King that there never was any ill Design against his Person. As for the Peers and Privy-Council, they were variously affected by this News, partly by reason of the Advances they had made to the Prince of *Orange*; however, after some Debates they appointed Four of their Members, viz. the Earls of *Middleton*, *Ailesbury*, *Tarmouth* and *Feverham*, to wait upon His Majesty, and invite him to his Palace at *Whitehall*; to which, tho' at first he shew'd some Reluctance, yet at last he condescended. The Peers also dispatch'd an Express to the Prince of *Orange* to acquaint him that the King was still in *England*; whereupon His Highness came to *Windsor*, and lodg'd in the Prince of *Denmark's* Apartment, which was prepar'd for his Reception; and the next Day their Lordships (in Pursuance of the Prince's Directions) made an Order, whereby they requir'd all Irish Officers and Soldiers to repair to the respective Bodies to which they did belong; and declar'd, That behaving themselves peaceably, they should have Subsistence paid them till they should be otherwise provided for, or employ'd: And the said Officers and

The Prince
of Orange
comes to
Windsor,
Dec. 14.
Order of the
Peers con-
cerning the
Irish Dec.
14.

and Soldiers were also order'd to deliver up their Arms to some of the Officers of the Ordinance.

1688.

The Lords having acquainted the Prince of Orange with His Majesties Resolution to return to Whitehall, His Highness was somewhat surpriz'd at the News; and after a long Consultation with the chief of the Nobility and Gentry about him, he dispatch'd Monsieur de Zuytstein to the King, to desire him to continue at Rochester; but this Express missing his Way, His Majesty left that Place on Sunday Morning, and about Four in the Afternoon entred the City of London, as it were, in Triumph, and went to Whitehall, attended by several Nobles, whilst Multitudes of People, that crowded to see him, welcom'd his Return with loud Acclamations; the ringing of Bells, Illuminations, Bonfires, and all other publick Demonstrations of Joy, Loyalty and Affection, being us'd upon this Occasion.

The King
returns to
London,
Dec. 16.

The Night before the King left Rochester, His Majesty dispatch'd the Earl of Feversham with a Letter to the Prince, to invite him to St. James's, with what Number of Guards and Troops His Highness should think convenient to bring along with him, that they might amicably and personally confer together about the Means of redressing the publick Grievances. The Earl arriv'd on Sunday Morning at Windsor, and having deliver'd his Message to the Prince, he was not a little surpriz'd, when instead of an Answer, Monsieur Bentinck demanded his Sword, being order'd by His Highness to secure him upon Account of his late Precipitate Disbanding the Army; or, as 'twas surmiz'd, because having a great Influence upon the King, he might have push'd His Majesty to some bold Attempt that might have broke the Measures, which those that had join'd His Highness had ready concerted for the Good of the Prince of Orange having referr'd the Letter to the Peers, concluded, that the Royal Palace being still crowded with Irish Papists, His Highness could not be sa-

The Earl of
Feversham
Arrested,
Dec. 16.

1688.

The Prince
of Orange's
Message to
the King,
Dec. 17.

before His Majesty was remov'd within a reasonable Distance from London. Several Places were propos'd, but at last Ham, a House belonging to the Dutchess of Lauderdale, was pitch'd upon; and by their Advice, His Highness subscrib'd a Paper, whereby he desir'd the Marquis of Hallifax, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Lord Delamere, to tell the King, That it was thought convenient, for the greater Quiet of the City, and the Safety of his Person, that he should remove to Ham, where he should be attended by his Guards, who would be ready to preserve him from any Disturbance.

The King's
Orders to
suppress
Disorders,
Dec. 16.

Dec. 15.

The Dutch
Guards
take Possession of St.
James's
and White-
hall.

As soon as His Majesty came to Whitehall, he assembled Eight Members of his Privy-Council, and made an Order for restoring the publick Tranquility, by suppressing all riotous and tumultuous Meetings, which was the last Publick Act of His Royal Authority; and tho' that very Night he was inform'd of the Earl of Feversham's Confinement, yet the next Day he sent the Earl of Mulgrave to compliment the Prince of Orange, who by this time was come to Lion-House. His Highness's Guards being advanc'd as far as Kensington and Chelsea, were order'd to quarter there that Night; but soon after they receiv'd fresh Orders to march, and take Possession of all the Posts about Whitehall and St. James's, either by fair Means, or open Force. Count Solmes, who commanded them, being come for that Purpose, about Nine a Clock at Night His Majesty sent for him, and desir'd him, if possible, to let him have his own Guard at Whitehall only for that Night; but the Count alledging his positive Orders to relieve all the Posts, His Majesty bid him do his Office. At Ten of the Clock the Dutch Guards enter'd into St. James's House, and towards Eleven those who were commanded to Whitehall, mov'd thither through the Park. The Lord Craven, who was directed by the Prince to order the King's Guards to retire from their Posts upon the Approach of His Highness's Troops, supposing this was not to be executed till the next Day, had given no Orders to that Purpose; and the English seeming unwilling to dislodge, His Highness's Guards march'd up to them with lighted Match, and in order of Bat-

1688.

Battel. A bloody Skirmish was like to follow, but at last the King's Guards were perswaded to withdraw. The *Dutch* being now posted at *Whitehall*, the Lords *Hallifax*, *Sbrensbury* and *Delamere* sent a Note to Secretary *Middleton*, to inform him, *That there was a Message to be deliver'd to His Majesty from the Prince, which was of so great Importance, that they, who were charg'd with it, desir'd they might be immediately admitted; and therefore desir'd to know where they might find his Lordship, that he might introduce them.* Accordingly the Earl of *Middleton* introduc'd those three Peers about One a Clock in the Morning, the King being by that time in Bed. After a short Apology for breaking in upon His Majesties Repose at so unseasonable an Hour, they deliver'd him the Paper, which the King read, and said he would comply with it. Upon this the Lords humbly desir'd he would remove so early as to be at *Ham* by Noon, to prevent meeting the Prince in his Way to *London*, where he was to come the same Day. His Majesty readily agreed to this too, and ask'd, whether he might not appoint what Servants should attend him? To which the Lords replied, That it was left to him to give Order in that as he pleas'd; and so took their Leaves of His Majesty. When they were gone as far as the Privy-Chamber, the King sent for them again, and told them he had forgot to acquaint them with his Resolutions before the Message came, to send my Lord *Godolphin* next Morning to the Prince, to propose his going back to *Rocheſter*, he finding by the Message Monsieur *Zuytleſtein* was charg'd with, that the Prince had no mind he should be at *London*; and therefore he now desir'd he might rather return to *Rocheſter*, than go to any other Place. The Lords replied, that they would immediately acquaint the Prince with His Majesties Desire, not doubting of such an Answer as would be to His Majesties Satisfaction. Accordingly they sent to the Prince, who presently guessing the King's Design of leaving the Realm, order'd Monsieur *Bentinck* to write a Letter, which came before Eight a Clock next Morning, agreeing to His Majesties Proposals of going to

The King
goes to Ro-
cheſter,
Dec. 18.

Rocheſter.

1688.



Rocheſter. Thereupon the King having taken his Leave of the Lords, the Ambaſſador of *Spain*, and other Perſons there preſent, ſome of whom could not forbear ſhedding Tears on ſo moving an Occaſion, His Maſteſty went into a Barge, attended by the Earls of *Ailesbury*, *Litchfield*, *Arran* and *Dumbarſon*, Six of his own Yeomen of the Guard, and about an Hundred Men of His Highneſs's Forces, and arriv'd about Nine a Clock at Night at *Graveſend*, where he met ſome Troops of Horſe, which, the next Day, guarded him by Land to *Rocheſter*.

The Prince

of Orange

comes to

St. James's,

Decem. 18.

The Prince of *Orange* took this favourable Opportunity to make his firſt Appearance in *London*, and about Three in the Afternoon, the ſame Day that the King left *Whitehall*, His Highneſs, with a magnificent Equipage, and a noble and numerous Retinue, came to *St. James's*, where he receiv'd the Congratulations of all the Nobility, and other Perſons of the chiefſt Quality in Town; not to mention the extraordinary Rejoicings of the giddy Multitude, which ſignified as little on this Occaſion as they did Two Days before. On the 20th the Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of *London* attended His Highneſs upon the ſame Account, and the Lord-Mayor, being indispos'd, Sir George Treby, their Recorder, made an eloquent Speech to His Highneſs, the latter part of which was as follows.

Sir George
Treby's
Speech to
the Prince,
Dec. 20.

Great Sir,

“ **W**HEN we look back to the laſt Month,
“ and contemplate the Swiftneſs and Ful-
“ neſs of our preſent Deliverance, aſtoniſh'd, we
“ think it miraculous. Your Highneſs, led by the
“ Hand of Heaven, and call'd by the Voice of the
“ People, has preserv'd our deareſt Interests: The
“ *Proteſtant Religion*, which is *Primitive Chriſtianity*
“ reſtor'd; our *Laws*, which are our ancient Title
“ to our Lives, Liberties and Eſtates, and with-
“ out which this World were a Wilderneſs. But
“ what Retribution can we make to Your High-
“ neſs? Our Thoughts are full charg'd with Gra-
“ titude. Your Highneſs has a laſting Monument
“ in

" in the *Hearts*, in the *Prayers*, in the *Praises* of
 " all good Men amongst us, and late *Posterity* will
 " celebrate your ever-glorious Name, till Time
 " shall be no more.

The Ambassador of *Spain*, and the Resident of
Venice, did likewise compliment His Highness in
 private. The *London Mob* taking Occasion of the
 publick Rejoicings upon the Prince's Arrival, in-
 sulted and rifled the *Papists* without Controul, not
 excepting some Peers of *England*, no more than
 some foreign Ministers. Thereupon the Privy-
 Council order'd that all Foreigners should be
 permitted to leave the Kingdom, and the Prince
 of *Orange* sent Passes to the Pope's Nuncio, and to
 the Envoys of *Poland*, *Savoy* and *Modena*. The
 Lords *Langdale* and *Montgomery* were set free, but
 the Earls of *Peterborough* and *Salisbury* were kept
 in Custody, as well as a great Number of *Papish*
 Priests and *Jesuits*. The Earl of *Middleton* waited
 upon the King at *Rochester*, to surrender to him the
 Seals of the Secretary's Office, and all the other
 Lords who had any Employments at Court, di-
 stinguish'd by exterior Badges, * laid down those
 Marks of their Offices.

* As the
 Staff, or
 the Key.
 The Lords
 assemble
 at St.
 James's,
 Dec. 21.

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1688. *London.* It was afterwards propos'd, that the whole Assembly should sign the same Engagement or Association, which the Nobility and Gentry had already subscribed at *Exeter*; to which Proposal all agreed, except the Duke of *S-----*, the Earls of *P-----* and *Nottingham*, the Lord *W-----*, and all the Bishops, save that of *London*, who set his Hand to the Association.

The King perceiving by these Proceedings what a desperate Condition his Affairs were in, and dreading the formidable Power of a free Parliament, resolv'd to betake himself to the Protection of the King of *France*. His Majesty was negligently guarded, as a Person to whom the governing Party was desirous to give an Opportunity to make his Escape; and therefore on the 23th of *December*, about Two or Three a Clock in the Morning, His Majesty privately withdrew himself; without communicating his Design to any Body; no, not to the Earl of *Dumbarton*, who lay in the King's Chamber, and who did not wake till after His Majesty was gone. That forlorn Prince taking only with him the Duke of *Berwick*, *Skelton* and *Labadie*, went on Horseback as far as a certain Place near the River, where Captain *Magdonel* waited to receive him in a small Frigate; and having immediately put to Sea, with a favourable Wind, landed at *Ambletense* in *France*; from whence he repair'd to *St. Germain*s. The Earl of *Middleton*, who was still at *Rochester* when the King went away, found the next Day, upon the Table, one of His Majesties Letters, desiring him to gratifie the Captains of the Prince's Troops that were appointed to guard him with an Hundred Guineas apiece, the Lieutenants and Ensigns with Fifty, and to reward some others that had attended him in Proportion. His Majesty, among all the Troubles that distracted his Mind, not forgetting to exercise his wonted Generosity towards all those that approach'd his Person. The King left also behind him a Paper, containing his Reasons for withdrawing himself

Self from Rochester, which he wrote with his own Hand, and which was as follows.

1688.

“THE World cannot wonder at my withdraw-
 “ing my Self now this second time. I
 “might have expected somewhat better Usage af-
 “ter what I writ to the Prince of Orange by my Lord
 “Faversham, and the Instructions I gave him; but
 “instead of an Answer, such as I might have hop’d
 “for, What was I to expect after the Usage I re-
 “ceiv’d by the making the said Earl a Prisoner,
 “against the Practice and Law of Nations; The
 “sending his own Guards at Eleven at Night
 “to take Possession of the Posts at Whitehall, without
 “advertizing me in the least manner of it; The
 “sending to me at One a Clock, after Midnight, when I
 “was in Bed, a kind of an Order by three Lords, to
 “be gone out of mine own Palace before Twelve that
 “same Morning? After all this, how could I hope
 “to be safe, so long as I was in the Power of one
 “who had not only done this to me, and invaded
 “my Kingdoms, without any just Occasion given
 “him for it, but that did by his first Declaration
 “lay the greatest Aspersions upon me that Malice
 “could invent, in that Clause of it which concerns
 “my Son. I appeal to all that know me, nay,
 “even to himself, that in their Consciences, nei-
 “ther he nor they can believe me in the least ca-
 “pable of so unnatural a Villany, nor of so little com-
 “mon Sense, to be imposed on in a thing of such
 “a Nature as that. What had I then to expect
 “from one who by all Arts hath taken such Pains
 “to make me appear as black as Hell to my own
 “People, as well as to all the World besides?
 “What Effect that hath had at home, all Mankind
 “have seen by so general a Defection in my Army,
 “as well as in the Nation, amongst all sorts of
 “People.

“I was born Free, and desire to continue so;
 “and tho’ I have ventured my Life very frankly on
 “several Occasions, for the Good and Honour of
 “my Country, and am as free to do it again, (and
 “which I hope I shall yet do, as old as I am, to re-
 “deem

1688.



deem it from the Slavery it is like to fall under) yet I
 think it not convenient to expose my self to be
 secured, as not to be at Liberty to effect it; and
 for that reason do withdraw, but so as to be
 within call whensoever the Nation's Eyes shall
 be opened, so as to see how they have been ab-
 used and imposed upon by the *Specious Pretences*
 of Religion and Property. I hope it will please
 God to touch their Hearts, out of his infinite Mer-
 cy, and to make them sensible of the ill Condi-
 tion they are in, and bring them to such a Tem-
 per, that a *Legal Parliament* may be called; and
 that amongst other things which may be neces-
 sary to be done, they will agree to *Liberty of*
Conscience for all Protestant Dissenters; and that
 those of my own Perswasion may be so far confi-
 dered, and have such a share of it, as they may
 live peaceably and quietly, as Englishmen and
 Christians ought to do, and not to be obliged
 to *Transplant* themselves, which would be very
 grievous, especially to such as love their own
 Country; and I appeal to all Men, who as
 considering Men, and have had Experience, whe-
 ther any thing can make this Nation so great and
 flourishing as *Liberty of Conscience*. Some of our
 Neighbours dread it. I could add much more to
 confirm all I have said, but now is not the
 proper time.

The Throne
 becomes
 vacant.

The King's leaving the Realm was no small Joy
 to those who wish'd the *Protestant Religion*, and
 the Laws and Liberties of *England*, secur'd by a new
 Settlement; for had His Majesty been so resolute
 as to stay, and meet his Parliament, the growing
 Party would have been very much embarrass'd with
 his Person; since by the original Constitution, The
 King can do no Wrong, and his Ministers only are an-
 swerable for all Miscarriages, and unwarrantable Pro-
 ceedings. This Flight of King James was afterwards
 interpreted by a solemn Vote of the Representatives
 of the Commons of *England*, a voluntary and ab-
 solute *Abdication*, whereby the People were restor'd
 to their Primitive Right of filling up the Vacant
 Throne.

Throne, and the Prince of *Orange* left at Liberty 1688. to wear a Diadem unspotted by a Parricide. Thus ended the Actual Reign of King *James II*, who was a kind Father, a fond Husband, a generous Master, and who would have been rank'd among good Princes, if he had not had evil Ministers. His Temper enclin'd him rather to Clemency than Revenge; and if his Reign be stain'd with some Marks of Cruelty, they are for the most part to be imputed to the Fierceness of his Advisers, and the Persecution of those who would have prevented his Advancement to the Throne. He learnt the rough Trade of War under the Two greatest Masters of that Age, Prince *Turenne*, and Prince *Conde*, whom he follow'd both in the Service of *France*, and then of *Spain*, with great Reputation, and in the Year 1665. fought the *Dutch* Fleet with such Bravery, as was both acknowledged and rewarded by the House of Commons; yet as the worst of his Enemies cannot but own his Courage, when Duke of *York*; so his best Friends do freely acknowledge that he had more Piety than Resolution, when King of *England*. In short, 'twas his Religion that principally occasion'd his Misfortunes; for he would certainly have reign'd with Glory, if either he had been a Protestant, or his Subjects *Roman Catholics*. Indeed his Faults seem unpardonable, because he knew the Genius of the People he was to govern; and how unpracticable it was to overthrow the establish'd Religion, or to introduce a new one; but yet the Force of Prepossession is such, and the Blandishments of Arbitrary Power, which attend *Popery*, so alluring, that perhaps any other Prince of his Perswasion would have been tempted to follow the same Conduct; and therefore it plainly appears how wise our Legislators have lately been in settling the Succession to the Imperial Crown of *England* in the *Protestant* Line.

King James II's Character.

The End of King James II's Reign.

INTER-

THE INTER-REGNUM.

UPON the certain News that the late King *James* had left the Realm, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal immediately Assembled in their House at *Westminster*, and after a long Debate, relating chiefly to the Prerogatives of a King of England, their Lordships agreed upon an Address to be presented to the Prince of Orange, To desire his Highness to take upon him the Administration of Publick Affairs, both Civil and Military, and the disposal of the Publick Revenue, for the Preservation of the Religion, Rights, Laws, Liberties, Properties and the Peace of the Nation. And moreover, that his Highness would please to take into his particular Care the present Condition of Ireland, and endeavour by the most speedy and effectual Means to prevent the dangers threatening that Kingdom. All which they made it their Request to his Highness to undertake and exercise till the Meeting of the intended Convention on the 22th of January ensuing, at which time they doubted not but such proper Measures would be taken, as would abundantly conduce to the Establishment of these things, upon such sure and legal Foundations, that they might not be in danger of being again Subverted. At the same time their Lordships signed another Paper, To desire his Highness to cause Letters, Subscrib'd by himself, to be Written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being Protestants, As likewise to the several Counties, Universities, Cities, Borroughs and Cinque Ports of England, containing Directions for the chusing such a

1688.
The Administration of Affairs given to the Prince of Orange, December 25th.

U number

1688. *number of Persons to represent them, as were of to be sent to Parliament, so as the Persons thus chosen, might Meet and Sit at Westminster, on 22th Day of January ensuing. Both these Additions were Signed by above 60 Peers, and presented same Day to the Prince of Orange.*

His Highness never doubted of a considerable Party among the Lords, but the Concurring the Commons was the most Important Point, to assemble them, after a Legal manner, with small Difficulty. There was no King in being, nor any Style or Form of Government; the former were destroy'd, and the Great Seal either lost or carried away. After a long Consultation upon so weighty an Affair, a Precedent was found, which seem'd to agree with the present Exigency. Towards the latter end of the Year 1659, General Monk with the Nobility and Gentry, that laboured for King Charles's Restoration, in Opposition to the *Rumpers*, who pretended to continue sitting, issued forth their Summons in the Names of the Members of the Liberties of *England*, for a *Convening Parliament*, to meet on the 25th of April. And tho' this was done by the Usurpers, without the consent of any of the People, yet after the King's Return, he was so well satisfied with the calling of that Parliament, that it was Enacted by the King, Lords and Commons, that the Lords and Commons then sitting were the two Houses of Parliament; notwithstanding any want of the King's Writs, or any defect whatsoever, of the Acts then made, some were Confirm'd, and those that had no Confirmation have nevertheless obtain'd ever since the Authority of undoubted Acts of Parliament. From this his Highness's Council inferr'd, that in the necessity of Affairs was a forcible Argument in 1659, it was certainly of a greater Force in the present Conjunction. Now because the Commons have not the same Power to Assemble as the Lords, the Prince of Orange put out * a Paper, desiring on the 23d. such Persons as had serv'd as Knights, Citizens or Burgeesses in any of the Parliaments that were held during the Reign of the late King Charles II. as also the

Lord Mayor, the Court of Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of London, to meet him at St. James's on the 26th of that Month. 1688.

Pursuant to the Prince of Orange's Summons several Members of the Parliaments in King Charles's Reign, and the Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of London, being met at St. James's, his Highness acquainted them, *that he had desir'd* ^{The Prince} *them to meet him there, to advise with them of the best of O---'s manner how to pursue the ends of his Declaration in* ^{Speech to} *calling a Free Parliament, for the Preservation of the* ^{the Com-} *Protestant Religion, the restoring of the Rights and* ^{mons, De-} *Liberties of the Kingdom, and settling the same so,* ^{cember} *that they might not be in danger of being again subver-* ^{the 26th.} *ted.* Upon this they immediately repair'd to the Commons House in Westminster, and having chosen Henry Powle Esq; for their Chairman, the first Question they debated was, *What Authority they had to Assemble?* Whereupon 'twas agreed, that his Highness's Request was sufficient Warrant. The next Question was, *How his Highness could take upon him the Administration of Affairs without a distinguishing Name or Title?* which Objection started by Sir Robert S----- was immediately baffled by Serjeant Mainard, who said, *That the Assembly would lose a great deal of time if they waited till Sir Robert could conceive how that was possible.* Another propos'd to offer the Government to his Highness, not for a Month only, but for a whole Year; to whom it was answer'd, that the Convention would consider of that. Others mov'd that the Association that had been Sign'd by the Lords, might likewise be Subscribed by the Assembly; but it was carried, that the said Association should be left upon the Table, and every one be at liberty to Sign it or not. After these previous Debates, they Unanimously agreed to an Address, in the Preamble of which, *they return'd Thanks to his Highness for his coming into this Kingdom, and exposing his Person to so great Hazards, for the Preservation of their Religion, Laws and Liberties from the Miseries of Popery and Slavery;* ^{The Com-} *and then went on desiring his Highness to take* ^{mons Ad-} *upon him the Administration of Publick Affairs,* ^{dress.}

1688. to take care of *Ireland*, and to issue forth his Circular Letters for the meeting of the Convention
 • Decem- This Address being * presented and read to the
 ber 27. Prince of *Orange*, on the 27th of *December*, his Highness took that Night to consider of a Matter of so much weight, and the next Day told the Lords in the Morning, and the Commons in the Afternoon: "That he had consider'd of their Answer to the Lords "vice, and as far as he was able would endeavour to secure the Peace of the Nation, until the meeting of the Convention in *January* ensuing, and for the convening whereof, he would forthwith issue out Letters according to their desire. "That he would also take care to apply the Publick Revenue to the most proper Uses, that the present Affairs requir'd; and likewise endeavour to put *Ireland* into such a Condition, that the Protestant Religion might be maintain'd in that Kingdom. And he likewise assur'd them, that he came hither for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, so he should always be ready to expose himself to any hazard for the defence of the same.

The French Ambassador retires, Decem-ber 25. Whilst the late King was still at *Rocheſter*, Monsieur *Barillon*, the French Ambassador, was extraordinary busie in promoting Divisions amongst the Peers, wherefore the Prince of *Orange* was no sooner inform'd of his Majesty's second Departure, but his Highness sent an Order to that Minister to leave the Kingdom in four and twenty hours. *Barillon* demanded more time, which being refus'd, he parted from *London* with the Marquis *Ranau*, Envoy of *Modena*, to whom the Prince had granted a Guard. Two days after the Prince having receiv'd an Account, that the Earl of *Essex*, and some other *English* Gentlemen had been secur'd at *Paris*, it was debated, whether his Highness should send down a Messenger to arrest the French Ambassador, by way of Reprisals, which however was not thought advisable. On the 30th of *December*, being Sunday, his Highness receiv'd the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist in the Royal Chappel of St. Jam



James's, from the Hands of the Bishop of *London*, and heard the whole Service read by Dr. *Burnet*, and an excellent Sermon preach'd by the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, which open professing himself a Member of the Church of *England*, gain'd not a few Friends to his Highness. The next day the Justices of Peace of *Middlesex* waited upon his Highness with an Address of Thanks, for his coming over to deliver them from *Popery* and *Slavery*. Whereupon he caus'd a Declaration to be Publish'd, *Authorizing Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and other Officers and Ministers, not being Papists, who upon the 1st of December were in Office, to Act in their respective Places.* The *same Evening his Highness paid a Visit to the Queen Dowager, and amongst other Questions, ask'd her Majesty, *How she pass'd the Time, and whether she play'd at Basset?* The Queen took this opportunity to speak, at a distance, in favour of the Earl of *Feversham*, and Answer'd his Highness, *That she had not play'd at it since the absence of her Chamberlain, who us'd to keep the Bank.* The Prince of *Orange* took the Hint, and assur'd her Majesty, that he would not by any means interrupt her Majesty's Diversions, and the next day order'd the Earl to be set at Liberty. However his Highness's Complaisance did not alter the Queen's Resolution of retiring to *Portugal*, for at that very time she dispatch'd an Express to *Lisbon* to that purpose.

* Decem-
ber 31.

The Prince of *Orange* having dispatch'd his Circular Letters for the meeting of the Convention, and for the preventing Disorders that might happen in any place of Election, * order'd all Regiments, Troops and Companies to march out of the Quarters where such Elections should be made, the several Garrisons only excepted. Next his Highness bent his Thoughts upon Modelling the *English* Army. He first caus'd a Review to be made of all the Forces, and then gave Directions to the Lord *Ranelagh* their Pay-master to pay them their Arrears, and to the Lord *Churchil* to make a Reform of eight of the new-rais'd Regiments, viz. five of Horse, and three of Foot; which however ex-

1688.

* Jan. 5.

English
Army mo-
delled.

168³/₇. tended no farther than the Officers, nor did it reach those neither who had serv'd before, and were willing to be employ'd under his Highness. Besides this Reform, the fourth Troop of Life Guards, commanded by the Lord *Dover*, was Disbanded, to make room, as was justly suppos'd, for the *Dutch* Life Guard. The Regiment of *Dunbarton* was given to Duke *Schomberg*, which was a disappointment to Duke *Hamilton*, who expected it should have been bestow'd on the Earl of *Selkirk*, his second Son, to make him amends for his Regiment that had been given before to Colonel *Godfrey*. That of Major General *Oglethorp*, whom the Prince vainly endeavour'd to engage in his Service, was given to the Lord *Churchil's* Brother; and that of *Skelton* to Colonel *Fitz-Patrick*. Colonel *Tuston* who commanded Admiral *Herbert's* Regiment, surrendered his Commission, as did likewise Major General *Sackvil*, and Colonel *Legg*: Several other Officers follow'd this Example, upon account of the new Oath that was exacted of them. Now because the Prince was inform'd, that divers Soldiers, contrary to his Intentions and the Laws of the Land, were Quarter'd in Private Houses, his Highness issued out a Declaration, ordering that none of the Forces should presume to Quarter in any Private House, without the voluntary consent of the Owner,

*Order for
the Quartering of
Soldiers,
Jan. 8.*

*Affairs of
Scotland.*

* Jan. 7.

The Declaration the Prince of *Orange* had caus'd to be dispers'd in *Scotland* did not miss of its effect, particularly among the *Presbyterians*. The Lord Chancellor, upon the News of King *Jama's* being withdrawn, resign'd immediately the Great Seal, and retir'd from *Edinburgh*, and the Populace of that City, with an uncontrol'd Fury, insulted and rifled, not only the *Roman* Catholics, but also the *Episcopal* Party: The Prince being inform'd of these Motions, his Highness * assembled such of the *Scotch* Nobility and Gentry as were then in *London*, and told them: *That the only Reason that induc'd him to engage in so great an undertaking was, that he saw the Laws and Liberties of these Kingdoms overturn'd, and the Protestant Religion in imminent danger. And*
seeing

Seeing that there were so many Noblemen and Gentlemen of their Nation in Town, he had call'd them together, that he might have their Advice, what was to be done for securing the Protestant Religion, and restoring their Laws and Liberties according to his Declaration. As soon as his Highness was retir'd, those Lords and Gentlemen went to the Council Chamber at *White-hall*; and having chosen the Duke of *Hamilton* their President, they consulted together what Advice was fit to be given to his Highness in this Conjunction; and after some Hours Reasoning, they agreed upon the Particulars of it, which they order'd to be drawn up in Writing. The next day this Draught was presented to the Assembly, to which they made some Amendments, relating to the calling of a General meeting of the States of *Scotland*: But as they were about to part, the Earl of *Arran* propos'd to them, That they should move the Prince of *Orange* to desire the King to return, and call a Free-Parliament, which would be the best way to secure the Protestant Religion, and their Properties, and to heal all Breaches. This Proposal seem'd to displease the whole Assembly; and therefore being met again the day following, Sir *Patrick Hume* took notice of it, and desir'd to know if there was any that would second it; but none appearing to do it, he said, that what the Earl had propos'd was evidently opposite and ungrateful to the Prince of *Orange*'s Undertaking, his Declaration, and the good Intentions of preserving the Protestant Religion, and of restoring their Laws and Liberties; and farther desir'd, that the Assembly should declare this to be their Opinion. The Lord *Cardross* seconded Sir *Patrick*'s Motion, but the Duke of *Hamilton* wav'd it, alledging, that their business was to prepare an Advice to be offer'd to the Prince; and the Advice being ready to go to the Vote, there was no need that the Assembly should give their sense of the Earl's Proposal, which never before nor after Sir *Patrick*'s Motion, any had pretended to own or second, so that it was fallen, and out of Doors; and that the Vote of the Assembly, upon the Advice, brought in by their Order, would sufficiently de-

1688.



clare their Opinion; This being seconded by the Earl of *Sutherland*, the Lord *Cardross*, and Sir *Patrik* did acquiesce in it; and thereupon the Assembly voted unanimously, that his Highness should be humbly Advis'd and Desir'd, To take upon him the Administration of all Affairs both Civil and Military; the disposal of the Publick Revenues and Treasures of the Kingdom of Scotland, and to call a general Meeting of the States of that Nation, to be holden at *Edenburgh* the 14th day of March ensuing. This Address being Subscrib'd by 30 Lords, and about 80 Gentlemen, was * presented; in their Presence at *St. James's* by the Duke of *Hamilton*, their President, to the Prince of *Orange*, who thank'd them for the Trust they repos'd in him, and desir'd time to consider of so weighty an Affair. On the 14th of *January* his Highness met the Scotch Lords and Gentlemen again, and then told them, That in pursuance of their Advice, he would until the meeting of the States in March ensuing, give such Orders concerning the Affairs in Scotland, as were necessary for the calling of that Meeting, for preserving of the Peace; the applying of the Publick Revenue to the most pressing Uses, and putting the Treasures in the Hands of Persons in which the Nation could have a just Confidence. And he farther assur'd them, That they should always find him ready to come with them in every thing that might be found necessary for securing the Protestant Religion, and restoring the Laws and Liberties of their Nation.

Affairs of
Ireland.

Nor was the Prince of *Orange* less solicitous about the Preservation of *Ireland*, which Kingdom was recommended to him, not only by the English Convention, but also by an Address of the Irish Protestant Nobility and Gentry, assembled for that purpose in the Duke of *Ormond's* House, who at the same time presented his Highness with the Draughts of the Chief Ports of that Kingdom. His Highness was justly afraid that *Tirconnel* would remain Faithful to the late King, being supported by a numerous Army, and a powerful Popish Party; but upon a Report that he had propos'd in the Council to make the Lords *Granard* and *Monaghan*, both

both Protestants, the first Lieutenant, the other Major General, and to restore the Arms to the Protestants, it was thought fit to summon him, by a Letter, to submit to the present Administration, and to receive those Troops which his Highness design'd for the security of *Ireland*; assuring him, that the *Roman* Catholics there should enjoy the same Liberty they had in King *Charles II.* time. *Sarsfield*, a Native of *Ireland*, was first pitch'd upon to carry this Letter, but he told his Highness, that he was ready to obey his Commands, and even to fight against the King of *France*, but as to the being any ways accessary to deprive his Lawful Sovereign of one of his Kingdoms, he would never do it, unless he was forc'd to it. He being a brave Officer, his Answer was not ill receiv'd, and Collonel *Hamilton*, another *Irishman*; willingly undertook the Message; but being arriv'd at *Dublin*, instead of promoting his Highnesses Interest, he acted in concert with the Earl of *Tirconnel* to oppose it. Some of the Lords who had great Estates in *Ireland*, were apprehensive of the sad Consequences of *Tirconnel's* Preparations, and prest his Highness to send speedy Succours to the Protestants of the North of that Kingdom; but this Motion was retarded by others, who having nothing to lose, wish'd no better than that things should come to an Extremity; well knowing that a Rebellion is always attended by Forfeitures, of which they hop'd to have their share.

Dr. *Ward*, Bishop of *Sarum*, died in this Interval, and left a vacancy, which was soon after supply'd by one of the Princes Followers. As for Mr. *Chetwood*, who had been nam'd by King *James* to the Bishoprick of *Bristol*, Myn Heer *Dyckvelt*, one of the Ambassadors Extraordinary of the States, sent to desire to speak to that Prelate, and with great earnestness offer'd his Interest for the obtaining the said Bishoprick. Mr. *Chetwood* return'd abundance of Thanks to the Ambassador, but told him withal, That he had not held any manner of Correspondence for the Service of the Prince, and that he was well content, that the Bishoprick should go to any other that Had; and

168⁸ *and that if he would ever ask any thing of his Highness he would first serve him.* This nice distinction between former and future Obligations, and grateful Regard to an old Master, rais'd so great an Esteem for Mr. *Cheewood* in the Prince, that his Highness afterwards employ'd him in quieting the *Mutinous English Soldiers in Flanders*; and would have advanc'd him to a very eminent Station, if Mr. *Cheewood* had been so forward in catching the Favour King *William* design'd him, as others were to intercept them. Before the meeting of the Convention the Lord P----- offer'd Mr. *Cheewood*, as from King *James*, a Patent for the Peerage of *Wood-hill*, (by Corruption *Odill*) in *Bedfordshire*, which he refus'd, as his Grandfather had done in King *James* I's time, being contented to distinguish himself by his Learning, Politeness and Ingenuity, and to share the honour of Titles with his illustrious Relations. All this I mention, both to do Mr *Cheewood* Justice, and at the same time, to rectifie the Mistakes of * one who has intermeddled with the History of these Times, without either Candor or Competent Knowledge.

And the
Peerage of
Woodhill.

Mr. Lam-
berti

To resume the Thread of my Narration, the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* had not yet waited upon the Prince, which some ascrib'd to his Indisposition, and others, who judg'd more rightly of the matter, to the same reason which oblig'd the Bishops not to Sign the Association. However his Grace did soon after send a Compliment to the Prince, and with seven or eight Bishops more Subscrib'd the Association, having soften'd some Words in it, that seem'd to shock the Principles of Christianity, whereof one was that of *Revenge*, which they changed into that of *Punishment*.

Upon the first notice given by a Letter from the Prince of *Orange*, to the Court of Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of *London*, that there was great occasion for an immediate supply of Money, beyond what the present condition of the Revenue could furnish, for the charge of the Navy, paying off part of the Army, and sending a speedy Relief for the defence for the Protestant Interest

terest in *Ireland*. And proposing that for the Answering those great Ends, such a Sum of Money should be advanc'd by the City, by way of Loan, as they could conveniently spare, which would be secur'd, and repaid with full Interest at the end of six Months; an Unanimous Vote immediately pass'd, That they would supply his Highness with Two hundred thousand Pounds, which was the Sum demanded, and which was rais'd in four days, one single Man * having Subscrib'd 60000 Pounds towards it.

† The City lends 200000 l. to the Pr. of Orange Jan. 8.
* Sir

The Sitting of the Convention drawing near, Samuel and the Major part of the Members being by this time come up to *London*, it was no difficult matter to foresee that there would be more than one Party in the lower House: 'Tis true, the Generality, if not all, agreed on the necessity of Re-establishing the Fundamentals of the Government, and of bringing back the *English* Constitution to its first and purest Original, as the only means to secure the Nation against Popery, Slavery and Oppression; but yet they differ'd not a little in the Methods of compassing those great Ends. Again, though all concurr'd to lodge the Government in the Hands of the Prince of *Orange*, yet various were their Opinions as to the Title they should confer upon him; some being for making him *Regent* or *Protector*, and others *King*. The first seem'd to be strengthen'd by the numerous Party of the Republicans, who hop'd thereby to make a great step towards introducing a Common-wealth. As for those who were for a King, they appear'd divided into two Parties, some maintaining that the Princess of *Orange* being the next Heir, she ought therefore to be Crown'd, and the Prince to manage the Affairs as King only by his Wife's Title: But the Majority, who were for making his Highness King singly, asserted, † "That the Supreme Power

Different Parties are about the making the Prince of Orange King or Protector.

† Proposals offer'd to the Convention containing Reasons to place the Prince of Orange singly on the Throne.

" on

1688.

• The
Prince of
Orange.

“ on to the Bishop of *Roma*, his usurping an
 “ trary Power, and afterwards by his Pe
 “ withdrawing of himself; and of the Ho
 “ Commons, which could not so be call’d a
 “ ing to the Constitution, the King being
 “ and the Freedom of Election being destro
 “ the King’s Encroachments; That the S
 “ Power Real remain’d in the Community,
 “ might Act by their Original Power; Tha
 “ every particular Person was, notwithsta
 “ such Dissolution, subject to the Laws
 “ were made by the *Supreme Power Personal*
 “ in Being; yet the Community’s Power w
 “ bound by them, but was Paramount to all
 “ made by the *Supreme Power Personal*: and
 “ full Right to take such Measures for settling
 “ Government as they should think most
 “ effectual, for the lasting Security and Peace
 “ Nation; since it was the Community of
 “ which first gave Being to both King and
 “ ment, and to all the Parts of the Con
 “ They urg’d, “ That the Acts done and execut
 “ the *Supreme Power Personal* had so moder
 “ Parts and Persons of the Community, as
 “ Original Constitution was the best, justest
 “ most desirable: That the *Royal Family* alter
 “ * Person that both Heaven and Earth pres
 “ out for King; That there were Lords who
 “ bility was not affected by the Dissolution of
 “ Government, and were the subject matter
 “ House of Lords; And that there were
 “ which by Custom or Charter, had Right
 “ Representatives of the Commons; That
 “ were inextricable Difficulties in all other
 “ thods, for there being no Demise of the
 “ neither Civil nor Natural, there was conse
 “ ly no Descent, and the Community only
 “ Right to take advantage of the King’s Forfe
 “ or Desertion; That whatever other Power
 “ be imagin’d in the two Houses, as House
 “ Parliament, it could justify it self to the
 “ of any who understood the bottom of the
 “ lish Constitution; That by this Method all
 “ Succ

“ Successors might be excluded, and the Govern-
“ ment secur’d, in case all the *Protestants* of the
“ Family died without Issue; and this by the very
“ Constitution of *England*. That it would be most
“ advisable, not only for the Security and Welfare
“ of the Nation, but for the Interest of their Royal
“ Highnesses, to limit the Crown as follows. To
“ the Prince of *Orange* during his Life, (yet with
“ all possible Honour and Respect to the Princess)
“ Remainder to the Princess of *Orange*, and the
“ Heirs of her Body; Remainder to the Princess
“ of *Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body; Re-
“ mainder to the Heirs of the Body of the Prince
“ of *Orange*; Remainder as an Act of Parliament
“ should appoint. In which Method they found
these Conveniences among others, viz. “ That
“ Husband and Wife being but one Person in Law,
“ the Prince’s Honour would be her Royal High-
“ nesses; That it put the Kingly Power into the
“ best Hand in the World; That it asserted the
“ Power of the Community; That it would be
“ some Acknowledgement to the Prince for what
“ he had done for the Nation; Concluding, that
“ it was worthy Observation, that before the *Theo-*
“ *cracy of the Jews* ceas’d, the manner of the Di-
“ vine Designation of their Judges, was by God’s
“ giving the People some Deliverance by the Hand
“ of the Person to whose Government they ought
“ to submit; That since that *Theocracy* ceas’d, there
“ was no Instance of a Designation of any Person
“ to any Government, more visibly Divine and
“ Miraculous than that which they now admir’d;
“ That if *the Voice of the People be the Voice of God*,
“ that Voice never spoke louder; That if a Nati-
“ on of various Opinions, Interests and Factions,
“ from a turbulent and fluctuating State, fell into
“ a serene and quiet Calm, and Men’s Minds
“ were strangely united on a sudden, it shew’d
“ from whence they were Influenc’d: In a Word,
“ that if the Hand of God was to be seen in Hu-
“ man Affairs, and his Voice to be heard upon
“ Earth, they could not any where, since the cea-
“ sing of Miracles, find out a clearer and more
“ remarkable

1688.

“ remarkable Instance, than was to be observ’d
 “ the present *Revolution*.

Besides the foremention’d Reasons, they alledg’d
 “ That the placing the Prince of *Orange* upon
 “ the Throne, would be a Caution to succeeding
 “ Kings, of what fatal Consequence a general
 “ rogation may be, when they found, by this
 “ Instance, the Exercise of the Kingly Office in
 “ general, not only with Reference to themselves,
 “ likewise precarious to their Families. That
 “ Princess of *Orange* would share in all the Glory
 “ a Crown, without the trouble of it, and would
 “ be free from all *Popish* Reflections that she fear’d
 “ her Father’s Throne whilst he liv’d; And that
 “ was no room for the Princess of *Denmark* to
 “ her self neglected, the Exchange being made
 “ with many Advantages, by the Postponing
 “ the Prince of *Wales*. That if the Prince of
 “ *Orange* were not King in his own Right, as
 “ herest could not be entirely the Nation’s; but
 “ his Bravery was an Assurance of his Success
 “ to us, yet if there remain’d any probability
 “ his returning to *Holland*, as upon the Death
 “ his Queen, if she only were Sovereign, the
 “ rest must be divided. That it was dangerous
 “ the Government it self, to vest the Exercise
 “ the Sovereignty in both, for they might differ
 “ in Sentiments of Things: That it was necessary
 “ to Grant the Crown to both, and fix the
 “ Administration in one, since the Administration
 “ was an Incident inseparable from the Sovereignty.
 “ Lastly, that it supported the noble Maxim,
 “ That a Neighbouring Nation may take Arms, to rescue
 “ a People oppress’d by Tyranny; and that Foreign
 “ Princes would be apt to look to themselves, when
 “ they heard, by our Nation’s Example of Gratitude,
 “ That they are no longer safe, than while justly
 “ Subjects.

This Project being, in a great measure, detestable
 to her Royal Highness the Princess of *Denmark*,
 ’twas fear’d her Highness, who had a considerable
 Party in both Houses, would hardly Consent to it.
 But however this Obstacle was soon after removed.

Her Royal Highness preferring the Publick Good before her private Interest, both out of the great Concern she ever had for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and of the Laws and Liberties of *England*, and by the Mediation of the Lady *Churchill*, a Person no less distinguish'd by her prevailing Wit, than by those personal Accomplishments, on which principally the fair Sex value themselves, and for which they are generally admir'd. Besides this Difficulty, they were apprehensive of another Party, which, 'twas suppos'd, would be headed by a * Man of great Sway, and which consisted of * *Sir E—* those who design'd to continue provisionally the Administration of Publick Affairs, Civil and Military, and the Disposal of the Revenue in his Highness's hands; and to Impower him to make War against *France*, (a Point wherein all Parties concurr'd) to see old Treaties executed, and, in case of need, to make new Alliances.

As for the Lords, tho' they were for keeping out the late King, yet there was a considerable Party amongst 'em, who, to save the Honour of the Church of *England*, and the Prerogatives of Monarchy, were for sending his Majesty an Invitation to return; but upon such hard Terms, as, in all probability, he would never condescend to; of which Party were the Earls of N—, C—, and R—, and most of the Bishops. As for the Affair of the Titular Prince of *Wales*, the Generality were of Opinion, that it ought to be left undecided, and not so much as mention'd. Tho' it was still doubtful what Resolutions the Convocation would take, yet the Prince of *Orange* thought fit to send for his Royal Consort, and order'd Admiral *Herbert* to attend her in her Passage, with a Squadron of *Dutch* Men of War, and some *English* Yatches.

The two and twentieth Day of *January* being *The Convention* come, both Houses of the *Convention* met at *West-minster*, and immediately proceeded to the Choice *Jan. 22.* of their Speaker. In the House of Peers, the Marquis of *Halifax* carried it against the Earl of *Danby*; and in the Lower House Mr. *Powle* was unanimously Chosen, tho' 'twas thought that *Sir Edward*

1688⁸/₉.

The Prince
of Orange
his Letter
to the Con-
vention.

ward Seymour, who had early join'd the Prince
Exeter, would stand in Competition with him.
Chairs being thus fill'd, a Letter from the Prince
of Orange was Read in both Houses, wherein
Highness told them: "That he had endeavour'd
the utmost of his Power, to perform what was
com-
mand'd from him, in order to the publick Peace
and Safety: And that he did not know that
any Thing had been omitted, which might
con-
tended to the preservation of them, since the
Administration of Affairs was put into his hands.
That it now lay upon them to lay the Foundations
of a firm Security for their Religion, and
Laws, and their Liberties: That he did not
doubt, but that by such a full and free Repre-
sentation of the Nation, as was now met, the
Ends of his Declaration would be attain'd.
Since it had pleas'd God hitherto to bestow
good Intentions with so great success, both
in him, that he would compleat his own
by sending a Spirit of Peace and Union
amongst their Counsels, that no Interruption
might be given to a happy and lasting Settlement
of the dangerous Condition of the Protestant
land requir'd a large and speedy Succour.
That the present State of Things abroad
him to tell them, that next to the Danger of
reasonable Divisions among themselves, nothing
could be so fatal as too great Delays in their Con-
siderations. That the States, by whom he had been
enabled to Rescue this Nation, might feel
the ill Effects of it; both by being
depriv'd of the Service of their Troops which
were then here, and of the Conventions early
Assistance of them, against a powerful Enemy
who had declar'd War against them. And
as England was, by Treaty, already engag'd
to help them upon such Exigencies, so he was
confident that their chearful Concurrence to
serve this Kingdom, with so much hazard
themselves, would meet with all the Return
of Friendship, as Protestants and English-Men, wh-
ever their Condition should require it."

the Reading of this Letter the Speaker of the House of Commons, represented to the Assembly, the dangerous state of the Nation, and the fatal Consequences of Anarchy; the deplorable Condition of the Protestants of *Ireland*, and how much *England* might be affected by the loss of that Kingdom; And lastly, the Growth of the Exorbitant Power of *France*, and the vast Designs of that turbulent and aspiring Monarch, not only the Persecutor of the Protestant Religion, but likewise the Sworn Enemy of *England*; exciting the Assembly to put the Nation into a Posture, not only to secure themselves against all his Attempts, but also to make such a powerful Diversion in the very Bowels of his Dominions, as that they might recover their first Conquest of *France*, and reunite to the Imperial Crown of *England* the Provinces of *Normandy* and *Aquitain*, which, by an undisputable Right belong to it. This Speech was receiv'd with universal Applause, and was seconded by several Members, who, at the same time, under a deep Sense of their past Dangers, and present Deliverance, mov'd that a Day of *Publick Thanksgiving* to the Almighty should be Appointed throughout the Kingdom, which was accordingly done: And to his Highness they Voted the following Address, to which the Lords gave their unanimous Concurrence, and which was presented to him that very Day.

*We the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons The Conven-
Assembled at Westminster, being highly sensible of the tions Ad-
great Deliverance of this Kingdom from Popery and dress of
Arbitrary Power; and that our Preservation is, next Thanks to
under God, owing to your Highness, do return our most his High-
humble Thanks and Acknowledgments to your Highness, ness.
as the Glorious Instrument of so great a Blessing. We
do further Acknowledge the great Care your Highness
has been pleas'd to take, in the Administration of the
Publick Affairs of the Kingdom, to this Time: And
we do most humbly desire your Highness, that you will
take upon you the Administration of Publick Affairs,
both Civil and Military, and the disposal of the Pub-
lick Revenue, for the Preservation of our Religion, Rights,
Laws, Liberties and Properties, and of the Peace of the
Nation.*

168⁸/₉. Nation. And that your Highness will take into particular Care the Present State of Ireland, and endeavour, by the most speedy and effectual means to vent the dangers that threaten that Kingdom, which we make our Request to your Highness to undertake and execute, till further Application shall be made by Us, which shall be expedited with all convenient speed. And we shall also use our utmost Endeavour to give dispatch to the Matters recommended to us by your Highness's Letter.

The Prince of Orange did not immediately turn an Answer to the Convention's Address; the next day he sent them that which followed.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

*His Highness's Answer.
Jan. 23.*

"I am glad, that what I have done has pleased you. And since you desire me to continue the Administration of Affairs, I am willing to accept of it. I must recommend to you the Consideration of Affairs abroad, which makes it fit for you to expedite your Business; not only for making a Settlement at home, upon a good Foundation, but for the Safety of all Europe.

The House of Commons appointed the 23^d of January to take into Consideration the Condition and State of the Nation, on purpose to give notice to the rest of their Members to come up to Town; but the Peers continued sitting every day.

*The late King James's Letter to the Privy Council,
Jan. 4.*

The late King James foreseeing what Advantage the Nation would take of his withdrawing himself out of the Kingdom, his Majesty wrote a Letter from St. Germain's, directed to the Lord and others of his Privy Council, wherein he said, "That he had taken away not only all just Causes, but even Pretensions of Discontent, and removed all those things that were set forth as the Causes of the Invasion; That the Prince of Orange seeing the ends of his Declaration answer'd, the People beginning to be undeceiv'd, and returning again to their Duty, and well foreseeing, that if a Free Parliament should meet at the time appointed, such a Settlement, in all probability, would be made both in Church and State, as would certainly defeat his ambitious Designs, resolv'd by all means possible

“ possible to prevent the meeting of the Parlia-
“ ment; That to do this the most effectual way,
“ the Prince thought fit to lay a Restraint upon his
“ Royal Person; for as it were absurd to call that
“ a Free Parliament where there is any Force on
“ either of the Houses, so much less can that Parli-
“ ament be said to Act freely, where the Sovereign,
“ by whose Authority they meet and sit, and from
“ whose Royal Assent all their Acts receive their
“ Life and Sanction, is under actual Confinement.
“ That the sense of the Indignities he had suffer’d,
“ both in his own, and in the Person of the Earl
“ of *Feverham*, and the just apprehension of far-
“ ther Attempts, by them who already endeavour’d
“ to murther his Reputation by infamous Calum-
“ nies (as if he had been capable of supposing
“ a Prince of *Wales*) together with a serious Re-
“ flection on a Saying of his Royal Father, when
“ he was in the like Circumstances, that *There is*
“ *little distance between the Prisons and the Graves of*
“ *Princes*; (which afterwards prov’d but too true
“ in his Case) could not but perswade him to make
“ use of that Right which the Law of Nature
“ gives to the meanest of his Subjects, of freeing
“ himself from that unjust Confinement; That
“ this he did not more for the Security of his own
“ Person, than that thereby he might be in a bet-
“ ter capacity of transacting and providing for
“ every thing that might contribute to the Peace
“ and Settlement of his Kingdoms; That as no
“ change of Fortune should ever make him con-
“ descend to any thing unbecoming his Royal
“ Station, so neither the Provocation or Ingrati-
“ tude of his own Subjects, nor any other Consi-
“ deration should ever prevail with him to make
“ the least step contrary to the true Interest of the
“ *English* Nation, which he ever did and ever must
“ look upon as his own. That he requir’d them of
“ his Privy Council to make these his Intentions
“ known to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and
“ the Lord Mayor and Commons of the City of
“ *London*, and to all his Subjects in General, and
“ to assure them, that he desir’d nothing more than

168³/₉.

"to return and hold a Free Parliament, where
 "he might have the best opportunity of unde-
 "ring his People, and shewing the sincerity
 "those Protestations he had often made, of pi-
 "serving the Liberties and Properties of his Sub-
 "jects and the Protestant Religion, more especia-
 "ly the Church of *England*, as by Law Es-
 "tablish'd; That in the mean time they should
 "him their Advice, what was fit to be done
 "him towards his returning, and the accom-
 "ing of these good Ends; and that he requir'd
 "them to endeavour to suppress all Tumults
 "Disorders, that the Nation might receive the
 "prejudice from the present Distractions the more
 "possible. This Letter was publickly Printed in
 "don, but being Countersign'd by the Earl of Mar-
 "a Roman Catholick, it did King *James* more
 "than good, among those who still retain'd affec-
 "on for him. Whilst the Convention was sitting
 "Majesty writ another Letter, address'd to the
 "of Lords and Commons, wherein he tells
 "That he thought himself oblig'd in Conscience
 "to do all he could to open his People's Eyes
 "they might see the true Interest of the Nation
 "this important Conjunction; That finding
 "could no longer stay with Safety, nor act
 "Freedom, he had left the Reasons of his re-
 "drawing from *Rocheſter* under his own Hand
 "That understanding that Letter (which has been
 "peated here at length) "was not taken to be
 "but was maliciously suppress'd by the Prince of
 "Orange, he writ to several of his Privy Coun-
 "and directed Copies thereof to divers of
 "the Peers of the Realm, believing none durst in-
 "tercept or open any of these Letters; That
 "all these he had no account, nor did he wonder
 "that all Arts were us'd to hinder them from
 "knowing his Sentiments; That he was resolv'd
 "nothing should be omitted on his part, that could
 "contribute towards the Redress of all former Er-
 "rors, or present Disorders, or add to the Securing
 "the Protestant Religion, or the Property of the Sub-
 "ject, intending to refer the whole to a Parliament

K. James's
 Letter to
 the Lords
 and Com-
 mons. da-
 ted Feb.
 3. N. S.

“ *legally Call’d, freely Elected, and held without Con-*
 “ *straint*; And that none might despaer of his
 “ *Mercy*, he declar’d on the Word of a King, that
 “ his *Pardon* should be extended even to those that
 “ betray’d him, (some few excepted) resolving
 “ in that Parliament, by an Act of Oblivion, to
 “ cover all Faults. This Letter the Lord *Preston*
 sent to the House of Commons, directed to their
 Speaker; but the House being inform’d that it
 came from the late King, they did not think fit to
 take notice of it, and rejected it unopen’d. A Co-
 py of the same Letter being sent likewise to the
 House of Lords, address’d to the Marquis of
Hallifax, some of that Assembly were for opening
 it, but others oppos’d it; and ’twas resolv’d, that
 the Lord *Preston* should be sent for. His Lordship
 appear’d accordingly, own’d that the Letter was
 brought to him by a *Scotchman*, and was order’d to
 attend the House with the Bearer; but his Lord-
 ship was never call’d in on the * day appointed, nor
 any farther notice taken of the Letter. * Feb. 4

The Commons being met on the 28th of *Janua-*
ry, they proceeded to take into Consideration the
 State and Condition of the Nation, and the House
 resolv’d it self into a Committee of the whole
 House, of which Mr. *Hamden* was chosen Chair-
 man. The first that stood up was Mr. *Dolbin*, Son
 to the late Archbishop of *York*, who made a long
 Speech, tending to prove, that the Throne of *Eng-*
land was vacant, King *James* the Second, both by
 his Violation of the Laws, and his voluntary de-
 serting these Kingdoms, having forfeited his Right,
 and Abdicated the Government. A Member of the
 opposite Party made a smart Reply, to that unex-
 pected Assertion, *That the Throne was vacant*. Where-
 upon Sir *Richard Temple* ask’d him, *If the Throne*
were not vacant, what Business they had in that place,
and what need there was of calling a Convention? Sir
Richard made a very Eloquent Speech to back
 Mr. *Dolbin*’s Position which occasion’d a Debate of
 four or five hours, which being ended, the House
 made the following Vote, perhaps the most re-
 markable in all our Records.

X 3

Resolved,

1638.

The Throne declar'd Vacant.
Jan. 28. Resolved, That King James the Second, having endeavour'd to subvert the Constitution of the Kingdom by breaking the Original Contract between King and People; and by the Advice of Jesuits, and other wicked Persons, having violated the Fundamental Laws, and withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom, has Abdicated the Government, and that the Throne is thereby Vacant.

The Party of those who were for inviting King James to return, did not find themselves strong enough to divide the House; however the chief of them, such as Sir Edward S-----, Sir Robert S-----, Mr. F-----, Sir Christopher M-----, the Lord F-----, &c. did vigorously oppose the passing of that Vote. Among the rest Mr. F----- made a long Speech, extolling, with his usual Eloquence, his Courage, Conduct, and Magnanimity of the Prince of Orange, whom he compar'd to those Ancient Heroes, that were contented with the Glory of freeing Nations, and destroying Tyrants, without any design upon their Crowns. But, notwithstanding all the stir this Party could make, the mention'd Vote was immediately sent up to the Lords for their Concurrence.

Debates of the Lords concerning the vacancy of the Throne.

Upon the 29th of January the Lords began to consider the Vote of the House of Commons, with a great deal of Circumspection, and being refer'd into a Committee of the whole House, of which the Earl of Danby was Chairman, the first Motion was made not to agree with the Commons, that the Throne was vacant, but only to suppose it, leaving it to be farther examined afterwards, in order to cut short several other Questions, by determining this first, *Whether the Throne being vacant, it ought to be fill'd up by a Regent or a King?* This Question was debated with a great deal of Learning and Skill, and not a little Warmth: Among the rest the Earl of Nottingham fetch'd many Arguments from our English Story to support his Opinion for a Regency, adding a fresh Instance from Portugal, where Don Pedro had only the Title of Regent

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conferr'd upon him whilst his Depos'd Brother was alive. This Speech of the Earl of Nottingham had a great influence on the House, and would have been follow'd by the Majority, had not the Marquiss of *Halifax* and the Earl of *Danby* strenuously oppos'd it; so that the Question being put to the Vote, 51 were for a King, and 49 only for a Regency, viz. The Dukes of *Sommerſet*, *Ormond*, *Southampton*, *Grafton*, *Beaufort* and *Northumberland*; The Earls of *Kent*, *Pembroke*, *Clarendon*, *Rockeſter*, *Craven*, *Westmorland*, *Scarsdale*, *Cheſterfield*, *Litchfield*, *Yarmouth* and *Lindſey* Viſcount *Weymouth*; The Lords *Coventry*, *Brook*, *Leigh*, *Ferrars*, *Maynard*, *Chandois*, *Fermin*, *Arundel* of *Treviſe*, *Dartmouth*, *Godolphin*, *Griffin*, and five more; The Archbiſhop of *York*; the Biſhops of *Norwich*, *Wincheſter*, *Ely*, *St. Aſaph*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Peterborough*, *Chicheſter*, *Rockeſter*, *St. Davids*, *Oxford*, *Gloceſter*, and *Lincoln*. The Earls of *Huntingdon* and *Mulgrave* did not appear in the Houſe, not to be ungrateful to King *James*. My Lord *Churchil* kept at home upon ſome Indispoſition, or as ſome thought becauſe he would not give his Vote in ſo Critical an Affair, wherein he muſt either diſoblige the Prince of *Orange*, or the Princeſs of *Denmark*. As for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, he was really Indispoſ'd; but had he been in the Houſe, he would certainly have Voted for the Regency; ſo that of all the Biſhops. none but thoſe of *London* and *Briſtol* were for a King. However this Party was ſoon after fortified by four Dukes, viz. the Duke of *Ormond*, and the three Natural Sons of King *Charles II.* Whiſt the Lords were debating that Preliminary Queſtion, the Commons paſt a Vote, declaring that Popery was inconſiſtent with the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, and excluding for ever all *Roman Catholicks* from the Succeſſion to the Crown of *England*, to which the Houſe of Peers gave their Concurrence; and Propoſ'd withal to add a Clauſe, That no King of *England* ſhould Marry a *Roman Catholick*.

1688.

Jan. 30.

*Amend-
ments
made by
the Lords
to the Vote
of the
Commons.*

The * next day the Lords went farther upon the Vote of the House, and put this Question, *Whether or no there was an Original Contract between King and People?* which Question occasion'd many hot disputes, not a few maintaining, that Kings have their Crowns by Divine Right; which others warmly denied, asserting, that all Power Originally belong'd to the Community, and to the King only by Mutual Compact. Thereupon the House being divided, 53 were for this last Position and 46 only for the Negative; by which it appears that the Party that were for a Regency began to lose Ground. The next Question was, *Whether King James had broke that Original Contract?* which after a small debate was carried in the Affirmative. The last day of January their Lordships brought into Consideration the Word *Abdicated*, and concluded that *Deserted* was more proper. They examin'd the Word *Vacant*, and put this Question, *Whether King James having broke that Original Contract between him and his People, and deserting the Government, the Throne was thereby Vacant?* This Question was debated with more Heat and Contention than any of the former, and upon a Division the High-Churchmen, who maintain'd, that it being a Maxim of our Law, *That the King never is dead*, and therefore *that the Throne can never be said to be Vacant*, carried the Negative of the Question by eleven Voices. From this some presently infer'd that the Crown was devolv'd upon the next Heir, and mov'd that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declar'd King and Queen, which was also carried in the Negative by five Voices. The next day their Lordships agreed to Communicate their Resolutions to the House of Commons, but before they rose, several Peers, particularly the Marquesses of *Halifax* and *Winchester*, the Earls of *Dorset* and *Downshire*, the Lord *Downshire*, and others, to the number of Forty, enter'd their Protestations against the Vote of the day before, saying *That the Throne was not Vacant.*

On the 2d. of February the Lords sent a Message to the Commons by Sir Mites Cook and Mr. Mer-
v

win, two Masters of Chancery, to acquaint them that they had consider'd of their Vote of the 28th. of January last, to which their Lordships concurr'd, with these two Amendments; first, instead of the Word *Abdicated*, they would have *Deserted* be put in; and these Words, *And that the Throne is thereby Vacant*, to be left out. The Commons having consider'd of these Amendments, it was carried by a great Majority, that a Committee should be Appointed to draw up Reasons, why that House could not concur with their Lordships, which were as follows: *That to the first Amendment the Commons did not Agree, because the Word Deserted, did not fully express the Conclusion necessarily inferr'd from the Premises, which their Lordships had agreed to, viz. That King James the Second had endeavour'd to Subvert the Constitution of the Kingdom, by breaking the Original Contract between King and People, and had Violated the Fundamental Laws, and withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom: That the Word Deserted respected only the withdrawing, but the word Abdicated respected the whole, for which purpose the Commons made choice of it. That the Commons could not Agree to the Second Amendment, to leave out the Words, And that the Throne is thereby vacant, First, Because they conceiv'd, that as they might well infer from so much of their own Vote as their Lordships had agreed unto, That King James the Second had Abdicated the Government, and that the Throne was thereby vacant, so that if the Commons should admit their Lordships Amendment, that he had only Deserted the Government, yet even thence it would follow, that the Throne is vacant, as to King James the Second; Deserting the Government, being in true Construction, Deserting the Throne. 2^{dly}, That the Commons conceiv'd they needed not prove to their Lordships, that as to any other Person the Throne was also vacant; Their Lordships, as the Commons conceiv'd, having already admitted it, by their Addressing the Prince of Orange, to take upon him the Administration of Publick Affairs, &c. and by Appointing Days of Publick Thanksgiving to be observ'd throughout the whole Kingdom, all which the Commons conceiv'd to*

Reasons of the Commons why they did not concur with the Lords Amendments.

imply

1688^a. imply, that it was their Lordships Opinion, That the Throne was vacant, and to signify so much to the People of this Kingdom. And 3dly, That it is those who are upon the Throne of England (whether are any such) from whom the People of England ought to receive Protection, and to whom, for that Cause, they owe Allegiance of Subjects; but there being none now whom they expected Regal Protection, and to whom that Cause, they owed the Allegiance of Subjects, the Commons conceiv'd, the Throne was vacant. Upon it was resolv'd that the Earl of Wiltshire desired a Conference with the Lords, upon the subject Matter of the Amendments, which their Lordships having readily consented to, the Commons appointed the same Committee that had proposed the foregoing Reasons, to be the Managers at the said Conference.

Febr. 5. The next * day Mr. Hamden reported for the Reasons of Conference with the Lords, that the Earl of Nottingham spoke to this effect: "That the Lords for insisting on their Amendments." "had desired this Conference, that they might be as happily united to the Commons in Order as they were inseparable in their Interest." "that they were at this time uneasy, that they did not concur with the Commons in every thing." "cause it was of so great a Concern to the Honour and from so great and wise a Body. That the Lords did insist upon the first Amendment." "cause they did not find that the Word *Abdicated* was a Word known to the Common Law." "land; and because in the most common Application of the Civil Law, *Abdicated* was a voluntary express Act of Renunciation, which was not in this case, and did not follow from the other." "That King James II. by having withdrawn himself after having endeavour'd to subvert the Constitution of the Government, by breaking the Original compact between King and People, might be more properly said to have *Abdicated* than *Deserted*." "the Lords also insisted on the second Amendment." "for altho' their Lordships had agreed, that the King had deserted the Government, and therefore had made Application to the Prince of



“ to take upon him the Administration of the Govern-
 “ ment, yet there could be no other Inference
 “ drawn from hence, but only that the Exercise of
 “ the Government by King James the Second was
 “ seiz’d ; so as the Lords were willing to secure
 “ the Nation against the Return of the said King
 “ into this Kingdom ; but not that here was either
 “ such an *Abdication* by him, or such a *Vacancy in*
 “ *the Throne*, as that the Crown was therefore be-
 “ come Elective, which they could not agree to.
 “ 1st. *Because, by the Constitution of the Government, the*
 “ *Monarchy is Hereditary, and not Elective.* 2dly,
 “ *Because no Act of the King can Bar, or destroy*
 “ *the Right of his Heirs to the Crown ; and there-*
 “ *fore, in Answer to the third Reason alledg’d by*
 “ *the House of Commons, if the Throne be va-*
 “ *cant of King James II. Allegiance was due to*
 “ *such Person, as the Right of Succession did be-*
 “ *long to.*

Mr. Hamden having made his Report of the late Conference, the Question was put, *Whether the Com-* *The memo-*
mons should concur with the Lords ? As to the first *able De-*
 Amendment, the Negative carried it with great *bate be-*
 Unanimity ; but the 2d. occasion’d a long and warm *tween the*
 Debate, till, upon Division, 151 only were found *Lords and*
 for the Affirmative, against 282 who were for the *the Com-*
 Negative. Thereupon Dr. Dolbin was Order’d to *mons, rela-*
 desire a free Conference with the Lords, and the *ting to the*
 following 24 Persons were Nominated to manage *Word Ab-*
 for the Commons, viz. Sir Robert Howard, Mr. Po- *and the Va-*
 lexfen, Mr. Paul Foley, Serjeant Maynard, Serjeant *cancy of*
 Holt, Lord Faulkland, Sir George Treby, Mr. Sommers, *the Throne.*
 Mr. Garraway, Mr. Boscawen, Sir Thomas Littleton, *Febr. 6.*
 Mr. Palmer, Mr. Hamden, Sir Henry Capel, Sir Tho-
 mas Lee, Mr. Secheveril, Major Wildman, Colonel
 Birch, Mr. Ayres, Sir Richard Temple, Sir Henry Good-
 rick, Mr. Waller, and Sir John Guyes ; all Men of
 known Parts and Abilities. The Lords agreed to
 the Conference, and Appointed for their chief Ma-
 nagers the Earls of Nottingham, Clarendon, Rochester,
 Pembroke, the Bishop of Ely, and some others.

The Managers of both Houses being Met in the Painted Chamber, Mr. Hamden open’d the Confe- *Mr. Ham-*
 rence, *den.*

1688.

Mr. Som-
mers.

rence, by Saying, " That the Commons had
 " fir'd it, that they might make it appear, that
 " had sufficient Reason to maintain their
 " Vote: That it was a Matter of the greatest C
 " cernment to the Kingdom, and the Procl
 " Interest, that there be a good Issue of the Bill
 " now in Debate between both Houses. That
 " present Difference was only about a few Wo
 " but that the Commons thought their Word
 " significant, and so proper to the Case to w
 " they were apply'd, that in so weighty a M
 " ter, as that now in Debate, they were b
 " means to be parted with: That the Word
 " *dedicated* was of larger signification than the
 " *Deserted*, but not too large to be apply'd to
 " the Recitals in the Beginning of the Comm
 " Vote; and that it ought not to be restrain'd
 " a voluntary express Resignation, only in Writ
 " Writing, there being overt-Acts that wou
 " significant enough to amount to it. That
 " Common Law of *England* be not acquainted
 " the Word, 'twas from the Modesty of our
 " that is not willing to suppose there shou
 " ny unfortunate Occasion of making it
 " That as to the second Amendment, the Com
 " mons conceiv'd, *That the Throne is vacan*
 " no new Phrase, neither did they think it comp
 " able with the Consequences that their Lord
 " drew from it, *That it would make the Crown*
 " *land become Elective.* " That if the Throne
 " been full, the Lords would have assign'd it
 " a Reason of the Disagreement, by telling the
 " Commons who fill'd it. That it would be known
 " by some publick Royal Act, which might notify
 " to the People in whom the Kingly Government
 " resided; Neither of which had been done, and
 " their Lordships would not allow the Throne
 " *vacant.* Mr. Sommers spoke next, and main
 " with a great deal of Skill and Erudition; w
 " if it was an Objection against the Word *Ab*
 " *ted*, its not having a known Sense in the Co
 " mon Law of *England*, there was the same Ob
 " jection against the Word *Deserted*, since there w

“ be no Authority, or Book of Law produc’d,
 “ wherein any determin’d Sense was given to the
 “ Word *Deserted*; so that their Lordships first Rea-
 “ son had the same Force against their own Amend-
 “ ment, as it had against the Term us’d by the
 “ Commons. He urg’d, that the Words were both
 “ *Latin*, and us’d in the best Authors, and both of
 “ a known signification, tho’ their meaning be not
 “ the same. That the word *Abdicate* did naturally
 “ and properly signify, *Entirely to renounce, throw off,*
 “ *disown, relinquish any Thing or Person, so as to have*
 “ *no further to do with it, and that, whether it be*
 “ *done by express Words, or in Writing,* (which was
 “ the Sence the Lords had put upon it, and which
 “ was properly call’d, *Resignation or Cession*) or, by
 “ *doing such Acts as are inconsistent with the holding or*
 “ *retaining of the Thing,* which the Commons took
 “ to be the present Case, and therefore made choice
 “ of the Word *Abdicate*, as that which they thought
 “ did, above all others, most properly express* *De Jure*
 “ that meaning. That in this latter sence it was *Belli & Pa-*
 “ taken by others, and that it was the true signifi- *cis l. 2. c. 4.*
 “ cation of the Word, he shew’d it out of * *Grotius, §. 4. and l.*
 “ † *Calvin, * Brissonius, † Budeus, and * Praeleius. l. c. 4. §. 9.*
 “ As to the word *Deserted* he said; That it had † *Lexicon*
 “ not only a very doubtful Signification, but in the *Juridicum.*
 “ common Acceptance, both of the Civil and Ca- *De Verbo-*
 “ non-Law, it did signify only a *bare Withdrawing,* *rum signifi-*
 “ a temporary Quitting of a Thing, and neglect only, † *Comment.*
 “ which leaves the Party at liberty of returning to it *ad legem*
 “ again; and made it appear out of *Spigelius* in his *2m. de ori-*
 “ *Lexicon,* and * *Bartolus,* That that is call’d *De-gine Juris.*
 “ *sertion,* which is temporary and relievable, and that * *Lexicon*
 “ *Dereliction,* where there is no Power or Right to re- *Juris.*
 “ turn. Further, he said, that the word *Desert* is † *On the*
 “ us’d in the Civil Law for *Soldiers leaving their* *8th. Law of*
 “ *Colours;* and that in the Cannon-Law, to *Desert a Title of* *the 58th.*
 “ *Benefice,* signified no more than to be *Non-resident,* *the 11th.*
 “ that in both Cases the Party had not only a Right *Book of the*
 “ of *Returning,* but is bound to return again; which, *Code.*
 “ as the Commons did not take to be the present
 “ Case, so they could not think that their Lordships
 “ did, because it was expressly said in one of their
 “ Reasons,

Sergeant
Holt.

“ Reasons, given in Defence of the last Amend-
“ *That the Lords had been, and were willing, to*
“ *the Nation against the Return of King James,*
“ their Lordships could not, in Justice, do,
“ did look upon it no more than a negligent
“ drawing, which leaves a liberty to the Pe-
“ return. That for these Reasons the Com-
“ could not agree to the first Amendment, be-
“ the word *Deserted* did not, in any sort, con-
“ to their sence of the Thing, neither did it
“ their Lordships meaning, as it was expres-
“ their Reasons: Whereas the word *Abdica-*
“ express properly what was to be infer’d
“ that part of the Vote to which their Lord-
“ had agreed, *That King James II. by going to*
“ *Subvert the Constitution, &c.* had thereby ren-
“ to be a King, according to the Consti-
“ by avowing to Govern by a Despotick
“ unknown to the Constitution, and inconsi-
“ with it. That he had renounc’d to be a
“ according to Law, such a King as he Swore
“ at his Coronation, such a King to whom the
“ giance of an *English-man* is due, and had for-
“ ther kind of Dominion, which was to all in-
“ *Abdication, or Abandoning his Legal Title,* as
“ if it had been done by express Words. Mr. Ser-
“ back’d what had already been alledg’d, adding
“ the Lords Objection, *that the Word Abdica-*
“ *was not known to the Common Law of Eng-*
“ could be of no Force, since we have many
“ Words in our Tongue that are of equal signifi-
“ with the Common-Law. And that the English
“ Language was so much alter’d in the several suc-
“ cessions of Time, and the intermixture of other
“ Nations, that if they should be oblig’d to make
“ use only of Words then known and in use, that
“ they should deliver in such a *Dialect* would be
“ very difficult to be understood. As for the last
“ second Reason for their first Amendment,
“ That in the most common Acceptation of the Com-
“ Law, Abdication is a voluntary express Ab-
“ nuntiation: He own’d that to be the general Ac-
“ ceptation of the Word, and that he thought it
“ Common

“ Commons did so use the Word in this Case, be-
 “ cause it had that Signification; but that he did not
 “ know whether the Lords meant a voluntary ex-
 “ press Act, or formal Deed of *Renuntiation*; that
 “ if they did so, he confest he knew of none in
 “ this Case, but that both in the *Common Law* of
 “ *England*, and in the *Civil Law*, and in common
 “ Understanding, there are express Acts of *Renunti-*
 “ *ation*, that are not by Deed; laying this down as
 “ a Maxim, *That the Government and Magistracy is*
 “ *under a Trust, and that any acting contrary to that*
 “ *Trust, is a Renouncing of the Trust, tho’ it be*
 “ *not a Renouncing by a Formal Deed*: For it is a
 “ plain Declaration by Act and Deed tho’ not in
 “ Writing, that he, who has the Trust, acting
 “ contrary, is a Disclaimer of the Trust, especially
 “ if the Actings be such as are inconsistent with,
 “ and subversive of this Trust. The first that
 spoke on the Lords side was the Earl of *Nottin- Earl of*
gham, who said; “ That the main Reason of the *Nottin-*
 “ change of the Word *Abdicat*e, was upon the ac-*gham*.
 “ count of the Consequence drawn in the Conclu-
 “ sion of the Vote of the Commons: *That the*
 “ *Throne is thereby vacant*; by which Expression the
 “ Commons seem’d to mean that the Throne was
 “ so vacant as to null the Succession in the Here-
 “ ditary Line, and so all the Heirs to be cut off,
 “ which the Lords said, would make the Crown
 “ *Elective*; and therefore that it was fit to settle first
 “ what the Consequence of the *Throne being vacant*
 “ meant. Serjeant *Maynard* reply’d; “ That when
 “ there is a present defect of one to exercise the *Serjeant*
 “ Administration of the Government, the decla- *Maynard.*
 “ ring of a *Vacancy*, and Provision of a supply for
 “ it, could never make the Crown *Elective*, That
 “ the Commons apprehended there was such a De-
 “ fect, and by consequence, a present necessity for
 “ supply of the Government; That the Constitu-
 “ tion, notwithstanding the *Vacancy*, was the same;
 “ That the Laws that are the Foundations and
 “ Rules of that Constitution were the same; but
 “ if there was, in any particular Instance, a breach
 “ of that Constitution, that would be an *Abdication*,
 “ and

1688.

Bishop of
Ely.

“and that *Abdication* would infer a *Vacancy*
 “that the Commons did say, That the Crown
 “England is *always and perpetually Elective*; but
 “ly that it was necessary that there be a Successor
 “when there is a Defect; and that the defect
 “that would be no alteration of the Monarchy
 “from a *Successive one* to an *Elective*. The Bishop
 of Ely objected against Mr Sommers's Quotation
 for the Word *Abdicate*, and ask'd, what
 “That great Author, in treating on this Subject
 “did not interpose this Caution, *If there be a defect*
 “ing to the Times: *If there be a going away*
 “purpose of seeking to recover what is, for the present
 “left or forsaken; in plain English, *If there be a*
 “thing of Force or just Fear in the Case, that is
 “the Notion of Abdication. Serjeant Maynard
 turn'd, “That was not any part of the Declaration
 “clar'd by the Commons in this Vote; That
 “the whole Kingdom and the Protestant Religion
 “our Laws and Liberties had been in danger
 “ing Subverted, an Enquiry must be made into
 “Authors and Instruments of this Attempt. And
 “that if he, who had the Administration intrusted
 “to him, was found the Author and Actor in
 “what could that be, but a *Renuntiation* in
 “Trust, and consequently his Place thereby
 “vacant? That *Abdication* was an *English Word*
 “according to the Lords, the true significance
 “it is a *Renuntiation*; That they were not to
 “learn *English* from Foreign Authors, being able
 “without their Aid to tell the meaning of their
 “own Tongue; That, however for their satis-
 “faction, the Commons had desired the
 “meaning in Foreign Authors; and that it was
 “more than a *Deserting* the Government, or leaving
 “it with a purpose of returning. The Bishop re-
 ply'd, “That for this very reason the Lords
 “would have a Word made use of which signifies
 “only the *Cessure* of the Exercise of that Right
 “That if there were such a defect, as had been
 “spoken of, it must certainly be supply'd; That
 “the Lords had by another Vote declared, That
 “it was inconsistent with our Laws, Liberties and

“ *ligion to have a Papist to Rule over this Kingdom,* 168⁸/₉.
 “ which he took to be only as to the actual Admi-
 “ nistration of the the Government; That *Grotius*
 “ distinguish’d between a *Right* and the *Exercise* of
 “ *that Right*; and that as there was a Natural Inca-
 “ pacity for the Exercise, as Sicknes, Lunacy, In-
 “ fancy, &c. so there was a Moral Incapacity,
 “ which he conceiv’d to be a full irremoveable
 “ Perswasion in a false Religion, contrary to the
 “ Doctrine of Christianity; That then there must
 “ be a Provision made for supplying this defect,
 “ and an *intermediate* Government taken care for:
 “ because become necessary for the support of the
 “ Government, if he to whom the Right of Suc-
 “ cession does belong, makes the Exercise of his
 “ Government unpracticable, and our Obedience
 “ to him, consistently with the Constitution of our
 “ Religion, impossible; but that, he took it, did not
 “ alter that *Right*, nor was an *Abdication* of the
 “ *Right*; That, no doubt, *Abdication* was an *English*
 “ Word, and well known by Men conversant in
 “ Books; but that in *Cicero*, it signified sometimes
 “ the *Renouncing an actual Exercise of a Right*, and
 “ sometimes the *Renouncing of the very Right*; so that
 “ its signification, as the Lords alledged, is dubi-
 “ ous, and therefore the Peers hop’d the Commons
 “ would think fit not to use such Words in a case of
 “ this Nature and Consequence. That great Inconve-
 “ niences would follow upon the use of this Word,
 “ if it meant a *Renouncing absolutely of the Right*;
 “ That among the Civilians there is an *Abdication*
 “ that *may forfeit the Power of a King only*, and there
 “ may be *one that may forfeit that and the Crown too*;
 “ That those *Abdications* that are of Power only,
 “ are *Incapacities*, whether Natural and Involuntary,
 “ as defects of Sence, Age, or Body, or the like;
 “ Moral and Voluntary, as Contrariety in Religi-
 “ on; That there was lately an Instance of the first
 “ in *Portugal*, which was a *Forfeiture only of the*
 “ *Power*, and not of the *Name and Honour of a King*;
 “ for tho the *Administration* was put into the young-
 “ er Brother’s Hand, the Patents, and other Pub-
 “ lick Instruments run in the eldest Brother’s Name.

Y

“ That

“ That he did not here consider, whether the
 “ King was gone out of the Kingdom, or staid
 “ it; but only whether he was fit for the Admin-
 “ stration, which must be provided for, were
 “ here or gone away. That the highest Instance
 “ an *Abdication* is, when a Prince is not only un-
 “ to Execute his Power, but Acts quite contrary
 “ it; which would not be answer’d by so bare
 “ Word as *Endeavour*; (us’d by the Commons in a
 “ Vote;) That if this last Instance of an *Abdi-*
 “ *on of both Power and Right*, took place in a
 “ *ceeding Monarchy*, the Consequence would
 “ That there was a Forfeiture of the whole Right;
 “ then that *Hereditary Succession* was cut off, which
 “ he believ’d was not intended by the Commons
 “ That by the *Original Compact* mention’d in
 “ Vote, must be meant the Compact made when
 “ the Government was first Instituted, and the Con-
 “ ditions that each Part of the Government has
 “ observe on their part, of which this was
 “ Fundamental, That King, Lords and Commons
 “ *Parliament Assembled*, should have the Power
 “ making new Laws, and altering of old ones: in
 “ that being one Law which settles the Succession
 “ it was as much part of the *Original Compact*
 “ any; That then if such a Case happen’d, as
 “ *Abdication* in a *Successive Kingdom*, the Compact
 “ being made to the King, his Heirs and Successors
 “ the *Disposition of the Crown* could not fall to the
 “ Lords and Commons till all the Heirs did die
 “ cate too. That indeed there had been several
 “ *interruptions in the Lineal Succession of the Crown* in
 “ England, from *William the Conqueror* to *Henry*
 “ *ry VIII.* wherein the right Heir had been per-
 “ by; but that it did not follow, that every Breach
 “ of the *Original Contract* gave them Power to dis-
 “ pose of the *Lineal Succession*, especially since
 “ Statutes of *Queen Elizabeth*, and *King James*
 “ that have Establish’d the Oath of *Allegiance* to
 “ King, his Heirs and Successors; and which ought
 “ to be observ’d till alter’d by the Legislative
 “ Power; which he thought, singly or jointly, the
 “ Lords and Commons did not pretend to withdraw

“ the *Royal Assent*. And that these Laws being
 “ made since the *last Interruption*, they were not to
 “ go by any Precedent that was made before the
 “ making those Laws; so that, all that he con-
 “ ceiv’d ought to be meant by the Vote was, *But*
 “ *a setting aside the Person that broke the Contract;*
 “ *and, in a Successive Kingdom, an Abdication can*
 “ *only be Forfeiture, as to the Person himself:* That
 “ he hop’d both *Lords and Commons* did agree in
 “ this, *not to break the Line of Succession, so as to*
 “ *make the Crown Elective;* and, that if that be de-
 “ clar’d, that this *Abdication of King James II.*
 “ reach’d no farther than himself, and that it was
 “ to continue in the *Right Line of Succession;* they
 “ would be all of one Mind. The Earl of Clarendon
 pursued the same Argument, and said, “ That the Earl of
 “ *breaking the Original Contract* was a Language that Clarendon
 “ had not been long us’d in that Place, nor known
 “ in any of our *Law-Books*, or Publick Records;
 “ That he did not deny what Mr. Sommers had
 “ said, That the King is bounded by Law, and bound
 “ to perform the Laws made, and to be made; but that
 “ he would take notice, that his Obligation there-
 “ unto did not proceed from his Coronation Oath,
 “ for our Law says, *He is as much King before he is*
 “ *Crown’d as he is afterwards, and there is a Natural*
 “ *Allegiance due to him from the Subjects immediately*
 “ *upon the Descent of the Crown upon him.* That no
 “ *Act of the King’s alone can barr or destroy the Right*
 “ *of his Heir to the Crown which is Hereditary, and*
 “ *not Elective.* That if this Matter went no far-
 “ ther than King James II. in his own Person, how
 “ came the *Vacancy* and the *Supply* to be devolv’d
 “ upon the People? For if he only be set aside,
 “ then it was apparent that the Crown was to go to
 “ the Person that had the next *Right of Succession,*
 “ and consequently that there was no *Vacancy.*
 The Earl of Nottingham urg’d; “ That the Lords
 “ having declar’d, that they were willing to secure
 “ the Nation against the return of King James, it seem’d
 “ they were agreed in that Matter; and that if
 “ that were the only Point, they should find Words
 “ proper soon enough to express their meaning
 “ by;

1688⁸/₉.Sir George
Treby.

“ by; but that he found neither *Abdication* nor
 “ *Desertion* would be allow’d, on the one side
 “ on the other, to signifie this meaning, therefore
 “ they ought to think of some other that would
 “ and first of all to settle that Point first, *Where*
 “ *the Throne was vacant?* Sir George Treby reply:
 “ That the present Debate was to begin where
 “ difference between the two Houses did begin
 “ that was at the Word *Abdicated*; That an *Original Contract*
 “ was a Phrase and Thing us’d in
 “ the Learned Mr. Hooker in his Book of *Ecclesiastical Policy*;
 “ but that he had yet a greater Authority to influence this
 “ matter, and that was the Lordships own, who had agreed to all the
 “ but this Word *Abdicated*, and the *Vacancy of the Throne*.
 “ That it was very much beyond what their
 “ Vote before them led them unto, To talk of the
 “ *Right of those in Succession*; for that went far
 “ than the very last part of the Vote, and that
 “ was still to lead them yet farther, to say any thing
 “ about making the *Crown Elective*. He next
 “ deavour’d to prove that King James had *Abdicated*
 “ his Kingship, alledging out of Grotius, *That if there be any Word or Action that does sufficiently manifest the intention of the Mind and Will, in relation to ones Office, that will amount to an Abdication or Renouncing*. Now, added he, *had King James come here into the Assembly of Lords and Commons, and express’d himself in Writing or Words to this purpose. I was Born an Heir to the Crown of England, which is a Government limited by Laws made in full Parliament, by King, Nobles and Commonalty; and, upon the Death of my last Predecessor, I am in Possession of the Throne; and, now I find, I cannot make Laws without the Consent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament; I cannot suspend Laws that have been so made without the Consent of my People: this indeed is the Title of Kingship I hold by Original Contract, and the Fundamental Constitutions of the Government, and my Succession in and Possession of the Crown: On these Terms is part of that Contract; this part of the Contract*

I am weary of, I do renounce it, I will not be obliged to observe it; nay, I will not execute the Laws that have been made, nor suffer others to be made, as my People shall desire, for their security in Religion, Liberty and Property, which are the two main Points of the Kingly Office in this Nation. *I say, suppose he had so exprest himself, doubtless this had been a plain Renouncing that Legal Regular Title which came to him by Descent; If then, continued Sir George, by particular Acts, such as are enumerated in the Vote, he has declar'd as much or more than those Words can amount to, then he had thereby declar'd his Will to Renounce the Government. And therefore he insisted upon the Word Abdicated, which did so well correspond to the Fact of the Case, and so well exprest the true meaning of the Commons in their Vote. The Earl of Nottingham own'd, That a King of England might renounce his Kingdom and that he might do it by implicit Acts, contrary to the Kingly Office; for a King to say, he would not Govern according to Law, and for a King to Act wholly contrary to Law, and do that which would subvert the Constitution, was, he thought, the same thing; but then he thought also, that there was a difference between saying so, and doing something inconsistent with what the Laws require; for every Deviation from the Law is a kind of Breach of the Fundamental Laws; for he knew no Laws, as Laws, but what are Fundamental Constitutions; but if every Violation of the Law, by the Prince's Connivence or Command, were such a Breach of the Fundamental Laws, as would infer an Abdication, that then it were in vain to call any of his Ministers to Account for any such Action; That then the Action is the Kings and not Theirs, and then adieu to the Maxim of, A King's not doing wrong. That he took the Distinction he had made to be so plain, that nothing could be more, and that it had been thought so essentially necessary to have it clear and manifest, that those two great Instances of Edward II. and Richard II. were ex-*

The Inter-regnum.

“ press *Solemn Renuntiations*, and those Confirm’d
“ in *Parliament* by the *Lords* and *Commons*, by the
“ *Act of Deposing* them ; and therefore he could
“ not infer from the *Facts* enumerated in the *Vote*,
“ that this should be an *Abdication* for himself and
“ his *Heirs*. Sir *George Treby* desir’d to clear him-
self from the *Imputation* of such an absur’d *Con-*
“ *ceit*, That every *Violation of the Law*, or *Deviation*
“ *from it should be reckon’d an Abdication of the Govern-*
“ *ment* ; and said, “ That when a *King* breaks the
“ *Law* in some particular *Instances*, it may be suf-
“ *ficient* to take an *Account* of it from those *Evil*
“ *Ministers* that were *Instrumental* in it ; and that
“ in ordinary *Cases* of breaking the *Law*, the *Na-*
“ *tion* may have *Remedy* in the ordinary *Courses*
“ and *Courts of Justice* ; but that the *King* having
“ broken not a particular *Law*, but all the *Funda-*
“ *mentals*, these were no ordinary *Violations* of
“ the *Law*, and therefore in extraordinary *Cases*
“ extraordinary *Remedies* were to be recurr’d unto.
“ Where, added he, shall any *Man* come to have *Re-*
“ *dress* in such a *Case* as this, when the *Offender* comes
“ to be *Party*, to whom all *Applications* for *Relief*
“ from *Injuries* should be made, and so he himself shall
“ be a *Judge* of his own *Breaches of Law* ? This most
“ apparently was the *Case* as to the *Quo Warrantos*,
“ which was a plain design to subvert the *Constitution*
“ in the very *Foundation* of the *Legislature*.

The Lords offering nothing farther upon their first Amendment, Mr. Sacheveril proceeded to the second, and said, "That by using these Words *Abdication* and *Vacancy*, the Commons never meant to make the Kingdom *Elective*, nor could it be deducted from their Words; That admitting the Lords Amendments, *that King James had only deserted the Government*, even then it would follow, *That the Throne was vacant as to King James*; That if King James had only left the *Exercise* of his Power, as the Lords maintain'd, then he continued in the Office, and was King still; That then all the Acts of this Convention were wholly not justifiable; That the Lords were in no Place or Station to relieve themselves

[illegible]

selves or the Nation in this Exigence, unless they
 would think of setting up another Regency by their
 own Authority ; that then by the Steps the Lords
 and the Commons had taken they had drawn the
 Nation into a snare, and left all in such an intricacy,
 as they had no Power, by Law, to deliver
 them out of, nor could they answer for what
 they had done, unless the King should die, and
 that would leave the Succethon uncertain. Mr.
Pollexfen insisted upon the same Argument, and Mr. Pol.
 maintain'd that the Lords saying in their Vote, *lexfen.*
 that *the Government was deserted*, could not mean
 only the Exercise of it, but a *vacancy* ; That the
 King's Power, and the Exercise of that Power,
 was, in construction of Law, one and the same,
 and so join'd, That they could not be sever'd,
 and therefore that the supposed distinction was
 only notional, and altogether disagreeing to the
 Laws of *England*. That as it was utterly unlawful,
 and as great a Crime, to take away from the King
 the Exercise of the Government, as to take from
 him the Government ; it might do well for their
 Lordships to consider, whether they were not Guilty
 of the same Crime, which they would decline
 by their Amendment. That the Commons therefore
 could not admit, that there should be a taking
 away of the Exercise of the Government
 from the King, any more than the taking away
 the Government, which, the Commons said, he
 had himself given away by *Abdication* ; and that
 if King *James* was King still, they could not by any
 means agree to the keeping of him out of the
 Kingdom. That to have a Regency upon
 King *James* without his own Consent, or till his
 Return, whilst the Right was still in him, would
 be a strange and unpracticable thing, and intro-
 ductive of a Common-Wealth, instead of our
 ancient regulated Government, by a limited Monarchy ;
 and that the conclusion, That *such a Vacancy in the Throne would make the Crown Elective*,
 had no Premises either from their Actions, their
 Sayings, their Votes, or any thing else in this
 case. The Earl of *Clarendon* said, he would not
 declare

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“ who were to take by Lineal Succession, tho’ they
 “ did not, or could not, positively name the parti-
 “ cular Person. The Earl of Nottingham urg’d:
 “ That if the Lords should grant a Vacancy as to
 “ the King himself, they were then told, that the
 “ next Heir in Succession could not take, because no
 “ one could be Heir to one alive; That yet he
 “ thought the Answer given by the Lords was a
 “ very good one, That *tho’ the King was not dead*
 “ *naturally, yet if, as they inferr’d, he was so civilly,*
 “ *the next of Course ought to come in as by Hereditary*
 “ *Succession*; for he knew not any distinction be-
 “ tween Successors in the Case of a *Natural Death*,
 “ and those in case of a *Civil* one: That he would
 “ know if the next Heir should be set aside, and
 “ another put in, whether that King should be
 “ King of *England* to him, and his Heirs, and so
 “ being once upon the Throne, the ancient Lineal
 “ Succession be alter’d, which indeed would suffi-
 “ ciently make the Kingdom *Elective*, by taking it
 “ from the Right Heir: That if it was not so, then
 “ he ask’d, whether such King as should be put
 “ in, should be King only during King *James’s*
 “ Life? That, he suppos’d, was not the Meaning
 “ of the Commons; but, at least, he must be made
 “ a King during his own life; that then if there
 “ was a distinction made, as to the Succession, be-
 “ tween a *Natural* and a *Civil* Death, if King *James*
 “ should die during the Life of the new King,
 “ what would become of Hereditary Monarchy?
 “ Where must the Successor come in, when the
 “ next Heir to King *James* might not be next Heir
 “ to the present Successor? That therefore they
 “ must reduce all to this Point, whether this would
 “ not make the Kingdom *Elective*? That if they
 “ made it once *Elective*, ’twas enough to make it
 “ ever so, for he would be bold to say, they could
 “ not make a stronger Tye to observe that kind of
 “ Succession, than what lay upon them to preserve
 “ it in this Case. He added, that if the Throne
 “ was vacant, he would know, whether they were
 “ oblig’d to fill it: That if they were, they must fill
 “ it either by the old Laws, or by the Humour of
 “ those

168 $\frac{8}{9}$

“ those that were to chuse. That if they fill’d it
“ by the old Laws, they declar’d that it was an He-
“ reditary Kingdom, and they were to take the
“ next *Successor*, to whom the Succession would be-
“ long, and there would be no need of standing
“ upon a Vacancy : That if they were to fill it
“ according to the Humour of the Times, that
“ diverted the Course of Inheritance ; and that he
“ could not see by what Authority they could do
“ that, or change the ancient Constitution, *without*
“ *committing the same Fault they had laid upon the King.*
“ But, said he, if you please to suppose the Throne
“ Vacant as to King James, that is, that he has no
“ Right, then let us go on to the next step. Mr. Sa-
“ cheveril replied, that all their Business was to main-
“ tain, *that the Throne was vacant* : And Mr. Som-
“ mers added, that the Lords alledg’d as a Reason
“ against the Word *Abdicate*, *that it was not a word*
“ *known in our Law*, but that the word *Vacant* could
“ not have that Objection made to it, since it was
“ in our Records, and even apply’d in a parallel
“ Case to this, in 1 Hen. IV. The Earl of Rochester
“ Answer’d : That as that was the only Precedent
“ for the word *Vacant*, yet it was attended with
“ this very consequence that it would make the Mo-
“ narchy *Elective* ; for it being there declar’d,
“ that the Royal Seat was Vacant, immediately
“ did follow an Election of Henry IV. who was
“ not next in the Royal Line. The Earl of Cla-
“ rendon pursued this Argument and said : That it
“ was plain in that Case K. Richard II. had abso-
“ lutely resign’d, renounc’d or *abdicated* in Wri-
“ ting under his own Hand ; that after that, the
“ Parliament being then sitting, they did not think
“ it sufficient to go upon, because that Writing
“ might be the effect of Fear, and be not Volun-
“ tary ; that thereupon they proceeded upon a
“ formal Deposition upon Articles, and then came
“ in the claim of Henry IV. that this was undoubt-
“ edly an Election ; tho’ he was really the next
“ Heir, viz. The Earl of March, not appearing,
“ Henry IV. claim’d it as his undubitable Right,
“ being the next Heir that then appear’d. That

“all

“ all the Kings that were thus taken in (or elect-
 “ ed, but the Election was not of God’s Appro-
 “ bation,) scarce past any one Year in any of
 “ their Reigns without being disturb’d in the Pos-
 “ session; that *Henry IV.* himself did not care to
 “ ow the Crown to the Election, but claim’d it as
 “ his Right; that it was a plausible Pretence, and
 “ kept him and his Son upon the Throne; but
 “ that in time of his Grandson, *Henry VI.* there was
 “ an utter overthrow of all his Title and Possessi-
 “ on too, for *Edward IV.* all the Proceedings a-
 “ gainst *Richard II.* as well as all the rest of the
 “ Acts during the Usurpation, (as that Record
 “ rightly calls it) were annull’d, repeal’d, revok’d,
 “ revers’d, and all the words imaginable us’d to
 “ set those Proceedings aside, as illegal unjust
 “ and unrighteous. That that Act deduc’d the Pe-
 “ digree of the Royal Line, from *Henry III.* to
 “ *Richard II.* who died without Issue; and then
 “ *Henry IV.* (says the Act) usurp’d; but that the
 “ Earl of *March*, upon the Death of *Richard II.*
 “ and consequently *Edward IV.* from him was un-
 “ doubted King by Conscience, by Nature, by
 “ Custom and by Law. * *Sir Robert Howard* re- * *Sir Ro-*
 “ ply’d: He would not say that this Record of *bert Ho-*
 “ *Henry IV.* is not a Precedent of Election; for ward.
 “ the Parliament did not much mind his Claim,
 “ knowing that he claim’d by Descent, where
 “ there was a Person that had a Title before him;
 “ that the Commons did not doubt but that Power
 “ which brought in another Line then, upon the
 “ Vacancy of the Throne by the Leasion of *Ri-*
 “ *chard II.* was still, according to the Constitu-
 “ tion, residing in the Lords and Commons,
 “ and was Legally sufficient to supply the
 “ present Vacancy; that he would ask the Que-
 “ stion of any Lord there, whether had there
 “ been an Heir to whom the Crown had qui-
 “ etly descended in the Line of Succession, and
 “ this Heir certainly known, their Lordships would
 “ have Assembled without his Calling, or would
 “ have either Administred the Government them-
 “ selves, or advised the Prince of *Orange* to have
 “ taken

1688.



“taken it upon himself? That he doubted they
 “had been all Guilty of High-Treason, by the
 “Laws of *England*. if a known Successor of the
 “Throne were in Possession of the Throne, as he
 “must be if the Throne were not *Vacant*. That
 “from hence their Lordships saw, that the diffi-
 “culty in this matter arose from this, That they
 “would not agree the Throne to be *Vacant*, when
 “they knew of none that possess’d it; That some
 “such thing had been pretended to as an *Heir Male*,
 “of which there were different Opinions, and in the
 “mean time they were without a Government.
Must we stay, said he, till the Truth of the Matter be
found out? What shall we do to preserve our Constitution,
while we are without a safe or legal Authority to Act
under the same according to that Constitution, and in
a little time it will, perhaps, through the distraction of
our Constitution be utterly irremediable. He confess
it would be a difficult thing to go upon the Exa-
mination who was Heir, or else their Lordships
would have explain’d themselves before. But, ad-
ded he, it not being clear, must we always remain thus?
Use what Words you will, fill up, or nominate, or elect,
it is the thing we are to take care of, and ’tis high time
it were done. There is no such Consequence to be drawn
from this Vote, as an intention or a likelihood of alter-
ing the Course of the Government so as to make it
Elective; The Throne has all along descended in an
Hereditary Succession, the main Constitution has been
preserv’d. The Precedent of Henry IV. is not like
that of Elections in other Countries; and I am sorry
there should be any occasion for what is necessary to be
done now; but when such Difficulties are upon the Na-
tion, that we cannot extricate our selves out of, as to
the Lineal Successor, your Lordships, I hope, will give
us leave to remember, Salus Populi est Suprema Lex.
And if neither you nor we can do any thing in this
Case. We, who are met under the Notion of a Con-
vention of the States, have then met to no purpose,
for after we have Voted our selves to be without
a Government, (which looks as if something were real-
ly intended as to a Settlement) all presently sinks, and
we are as much in the dark as we were before. Your
Lordships

Lordships say, you will ne're make a Precedent of Election, or take upon you to alter the Succession. With your Lordships Favour, the Settlement of the Constitution is the main thing we are to look after. If you provide for the supply of the Defect there, that point of the Succession will, without all Question, in the same Method, and at the same time be surely provided for. But, my Lords, have not you your selves limited the very Succession, and cut off some that might have a Lineal Right? Have you not concurr'd with us in our Vote, That it is inconsistent with our Religion and our Laws to have a Papist to Reign over us? Must we not come then to an Election, if the next Heir be a Papist? Nay, suppose there were no Protestant Heir at all to be found, would not your Lordships then break the Line? If your Lordships then in such a Case, must break through the Succession, I think the Nation has reason to expect you should take care to supply the present Defect, where the Succession is uncertain; or what can we do farther, but even part in Confusion, and so leave the Nation to extricate it self as well as it can out of this Distraction. But then at whose Doors that will lie, I must leave to your Lordships own Thoughts. This Speech had a great Influence, and little was said on the Lords side in opposition to it: And because their Lordships has made use of the Record I. Edward IV. to assert the Lineal Succession, Sir George Treby said, "That it was very well known, that Edward IV. came in Disaffirmance of the Title of the House of Lancaster; That as those times went whenever there was any turn in Government (as there were several) there were new and contrary Declarations about the Title to the Crown, made constantly in Parliament; and what one Parliament settled, another undid: But then that this Advantage the Commons had on their side; that as they had this first Precedent for them, so they had the last, viz. the Parliament Roll I. Henry VII. 12. 16. where the Record is set right again; That the Act for deposing Richard II. was indeed repeal'd by I. Edward IV. and thereupon it proceeds to attain Henry VI. But then came in Henry VII. in the first Year of whose Reign there

was

1688.

Earl of
Pembroke

“ was an Act made that set aside all the Acts and
 “ Attainders made against his Line, and consequent-
 “ ly repeal’d I. *Edward IV.* which repeal’d I. *Hen-*
 “ *ry IV.* That *Henry VII.* was of the Line of *Lan-*
 “ *caster*, and tho’ he had the Heiress of the House
 “ of *York* in his Bosom, yet when he came to the
 “ Throne, would not endure to have his Crown
 “ reckon’d only Matrimonial, or suffer the Stile
 “ to go in the Names of *Henry* and *Elizabeth*, as
 “ he must have done if he had stuck to the Title
 “ by the Right Line of Succession. That there-
 “ fore his Act for restoring the Record of I. *Hen-*
 “ *ry IV.* again, was as good an Authority as it was
 “ before, and somewhat better; for it had the last
 “ Act on its side, which was yet unrepeal’d. The
 Earl of *Pembroke* reply’d, “ That *Henry VII.* had
 “ a good Right and Title by Marriage to the
 “ Crown, *in re Uxoris*; but that his own Title,
 “ as Descended from *Henry IV.* was an Usurpati-
 “ on; and therefore he would not suffer any one
 “ to prescribe which was best, as long as it was
 “ acknowledg’d he had one good. Sir *George Tre-*
by return’d; “ That if *Henry VII.*’s Title by De-
 “ scent was an Usurpation, it was hard to determine
 “ what Title he did Govern by, since though his
 “ Wife was the Lineal Heir, yet she had no part,
 “ or so much as a Name in the Administration:
 “ But, said he, if we should allow none for Acts of
 “ Parliament, but those that were made in the Reigns of
 “ Hereditary Kings, and in the right Line, I doubt we
 “ should want the greatest part of those Laws that
 “ compose the Volume of Statute-Books, and the Records
 “ by which we enjoy a great part of our Inheritances
 “ and Possessions. Sir *Richard Temple* alledg’d, That
 “ if Laws made about the Succession be so oblig-
 “ ing, what then should they say to the Succession
 “ of Queen *Elizabeth*, who had an Act of Parlia-
 “ ment against both her and her Sister? The Earl
 of *Pembroke* replied, “ That to shew what Opini-
 “ on she her self, and the wise Men of her Time,
 “ had in this Point, there was an Act made in her
 “ Reign, and yet in being, which declar’d it to
 “ be a *Premunire* to affirm the Parliament cannot
 “ settle

“ settle the Succession of the Crown, or alter it.
“ That Entails of the Crown had been in Parlia-
“ ment, both Antient and Modern; yet the Au-
“ thority of another subsequent Act had pre-
“ vail’d against such an Entail, so that it should
“ *be done in Parliament.* Sir Richard return’d,
“ He thought they were in as full a Capacity
“ to take care of the Government as any of
“ their Predecessors; and that if they did as
“ their Predecessors had done before them, that
“ ought not to be call’d changing of the Mo-
“ narchy from an Hereditary to an Elective.
“ The Earl of Nottingham immediately reply’d,
“ He could not imagine how a Kingdom could be
“ Hereditary, and that the King who had Chil-
“ dren in Being (at the time of his forsaking the
“ Government) could have the Throne vacant,
“ both of him and his Children. That the course
“ of Inheritance, as to the Crown of *England*, was
“ by our Law a great deal better provided for
“ than that of any other Inheritance. *That no At-*
“ *tainder of the Heir of the Crown would bar the*
“ *Succession to the Crown*, as it did the Descent to
“ any common Person; and that the very Descent
“ by order of Birth would take away any such
“ defect. That this was the Opinion of the great
“ Lawyers of *England*, in the Case of *Henry VII.*
“ And therefore he could not apprehend how
“ any Act of the Father could bar the Right of
“ the Child; since even the Act of the Son which
“ may endanger an Attainder in him, cannot do
“ it, so careful is the Law of the Royal Line of
“ Succession, which was declar’d by many Acts
“ of Parliament, and very fully and particularly
“ by that *25 Henry VII. Cap. 22.* That he desir’d
“ to know whether the Lords and Commons had
“ Power by themselves to make a binding Act or
“ Law; and whether according to our Legal
“ Constitution every King of *England* by being
“ seated on the Throne, and possess’d of the Crown,
“ was not thereby King, to him and his Heirs?
“ And that without an Act of Parliament he knew
“ not what determination they could make of his
“ Estate;

1688.



" Estate ; That 'twas urg'd indeed, that the Lord's
 " had in Effect already agreed to the *Vacancy*, by
 " Voting, *That it was inconsistent with our Religion*
 " *and Laws to have a Popish Prince to rule over us.*
 " But that a Vote of either House, or both Houses
 " together could not alter the Law in this or any
 " other Point ; yet because he was very desirous
 " that this Vote should have its Effect, he wish'd
 " that every thing of this Nature should be done
 " in the Antient usual Method by Act of Parlia-
 " ment. That since they were happily deliver'd
 " from the Fears of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*,
 " God forbid, they should assume any such Power
 " to themselves, for what advantage should they
 " then give to those who would Quarrel with their
 " Settlement for the illegality of it ? Would not
 " this, which they thus endeavour'd to crush,
 " break forth into a Viper ? That in all the
 " Breaches that were made upon the Line of Suc-
 " cession, such was the force of the Laws, that
 " the Usurpers would not take the Crown upon
 " them, unless they had some plain Pretence of an
 " Hereditary Title to it. That what he would
 " have avoided by all means, was the mischievous
 " Consequences that he fear'd would ensue upon
 " the Vacancy of the Throne, *viz.* The utter
 " overthrow of the whole Constitution, for if
 " the Lords and Commons only remain'd as parts
 " of the Government, and if the Head be taken a-
 " way, and the Throne Vacant, by what Laws
 " or Constitutions was it that they retain'd Lords
 " and Commons ? That they were knit together
 " in their common Head ; and that if one part of
 " the Government was dissolv'd, he saw not any
 " Reason but that all must be dissolv'd. He con-
 " fess'd, that any Government was better than
 " none ; but he earnestly desir'd they might en-
 " joy their Antient Constitution : Mr. *Paul Foley*
 " reply'd, He hop'd there was no danger of sha-
 " king our Fundamentals in this Case ; that they
 " were pursuing those Methods which agreed with
 " our Laws and Constitution, for tho' the Monar-
 " chy of this Nation be Hereditary in the Ordina-
 " ry

Mr. Paul
Foley.

"ry course of Succession, yet there might fall
 "out a Case wherein that could not be compli-
 "ed with, and a plain *Vacancy* might ensue. For
 "(said he) put the Case the whole Royal Line should
 "fail should we in that Case have no Government
 "at all? And who then shall we have but the Lords
 "and Commons? And I think that comes nearest to
 "the Case in Question, where the Successor is not
 "known; for if he had been, we should have heard of
 "him before now. And what is the Reason that it
 "should then in the former Case devolve to the Lords
 "and Commons, but that there is no King? And they
 "being the Representative Body of the Kingdom, are
 "the only remaining apparent Parts of the Government,
 "and are only to supply the defect by providing a
 "Successor. To this another Gentleman subjoin'd, Mr. G-----
 "That they were led out of the Way, hunting af- E-----
 "ter the Consequences of a Vote not yet settled
 "or agreed unto; that they had made a right
 "and apt Conclusion from the Premises, otherwise
 "all the Vote was Historical: *We Declare*, added
 "he, the late King James has broke the Original
 "Contract, has violated the Fundamental Laws, and
 "has withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom, that he
 "has Abdicated the Government. What Occasion
 "was there for such a Declaration as this, if nothing
 "were concluded from it? That were only to give the
 "Kingdom a Compendious History of those Miseries
 "they have too well Learnt by feeling them. There-
 "fore there was a necessity to make some Conclusion;
 "and none so Natural as this. That we are left with-
 "out a King; that the Throne is thereby Vacant;
 "which it may be as to the Possession, and yet the
 "Right of Succession no way prejudic'd. But my Lords,
 "we are come here, by the Commands of the House
 "of Commons, to Debate the Reasons of their Vote
 "and your Amendments, not to Dispute what will be
 "the Consequences, which is not at present our Pro-
 "vince: And so concluded the most memorable
 "Conference that ever was held between the Peers
 "and Commons of England.

The Managers of the Lords having made their Report to the House, there was a long Debate whe-

1688.



ther or no they should insist upon their Amendments? By this time several of the Chief Members who were before for a Regency, were come over to the Party that stood up for a King, which was also increas'd by the late arrival of some Lords; insomuch that the two Questions about the words *Abdicated* and *Vacant* were carried in the Affirmative. The Earl of *Danby* made a fine Speech to prove the *Vacancy* of the Throne, and the necessity of Supplying it by the Prince of *Orange*; wherein he was strongly supported by the Marquis of *Hallifax*, who taking advantage of this favourable Opportunity, immediately put this Question, Whether their Highnesses the Prince and Princess of *Orange* should be declar'd King and Queen? Those who were for the Affirmative carried it by Twenty Voices, being Sixty Five against Forty Five, so that this Vote past.

The P. and
Princess of
Orange
Voted King
and Queen,
Feb. 6.

“Resolv'd, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, assembled at *Westminster*, That the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, shall be declar'd King and Queen of *England*, and of all the Dominions thereunto belonging.

On the 7th of *February*, the Lords explain'd this Resolution by Voting, That the Prince and Princess of *Orange* should be King and Queen of *England*, &c. for their Natural Lives, and Life of the longer Liver of them, and that the sole and full Regal Power be in the Prince only, in Name of both. And that after their Deceases the Crown should belong to the Heirs of the Body of the Princess; and for default of such Issue to the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body; and for default of such Issue, to the Heirs of the Body of the said Prince of *Orange*; and for default of such Issue to the Person that should be nam'd, and in such manner as should be limited and regulated by Act of Parliament; and for default of such Limitation and Regulation, to the Lawful Heirs of the said Prince of *Orange*. In this Vote all the Degrees of Lineal Succession, (the *Roman Catholick* Branches excepted) seem'd to be comprehended; but yet 'twas certain, that by the last Clause, viz. That in Case the Crown should not be further limited

mitted by Act of Parliament, it should devolve on the Lawful, that is, collateral Heirs of the Prince of Orange, Her Electoral Highness the Dutchess of Hanover was left unregarded, tho' in the course of the Protestant Line she had an undoubted Right to the Crown of England, as being Descended from James I.

The same day the Lords acquainted the Commons, that they had agreed to the Vote sent them up of the 28th of January last, without any alterations: And desir'd their Concurrence to their own Vote, Declaring the Prince and Princess of Orange, King and Queen; to which after a short Debate, and with some Amendments the Commons agreed. They also communicated to the Commons the Oaths which the Lords thought fit to be taken instead of those of *allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and which were readily approv'd by the Commons, tho' protested against in the Upper House by Eleven Bishops, and Twelve Lords; whose Number two or three Days after, increas'd to Thirty Seven; and who not only declar'd against the Oaths, but also against the *Abdication* and *Vacancy*. All this while a Committee of the House of Commons was busie in drawing up a Declaration containing the Reasons why King James had forfeited his Crown; asserting the undoubted Rights and Liberties of the Subject; settling the Succession of the Crown, and appointing the new Oaths; which Declaration being sent up to the Lords on the 11th, was after some Debates agreed unto the day following.

In the mean time her Royal Highness, who on the 10th had left Holland under the deepest Affliction, for the loss of so Excellent and so Universally belov'd a Princess, arriv'd on the 12th at Gravesend, from whence she went to Whitehall amidst the loud Acclamations of Huzzaing Throngs, doubly Rejoicing for her safe Arrival, and for her being declar'd Queen. And the next day she was welcom'd by the Representatives of the whole Nation, with no less a Present than the Three Crowns of England, France and Ireland, which was done in this manner.

The Princess of Orange arrives from Holland, Feb. 12.

On the 13th of February the Prince and Princesses of Orange being seated on two Arm-Chairs under a Canopy in the Banqueting-House, both Houses of the Convention waited upon their Highnesses in a Body, and caused the Clerk of the Crown to Read with a loud Voice the following *Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons assembled at Westminster.*

“Whereas the late King James the Second, by
“the Assistance of divers Evil Counsellours, Judges, and Ministers Employ’d by Him, did endeavour to Subvert and Extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom; by Assuming and Exercising a Power of Dispensing with, and Suspending of Laws, and the Execution of Laws, without Consent of Parliament. By Committing and Prosecuting divers Worthy Prelates, for humbly Petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed Power. By issuing and causing to be Executed, a Commission under the Great Seal, for erecting a Court called, *The Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes.* By Levying Money for and to the Use of the Crown, by pretence of Prerogative, for other time, and in other manner, than the same was granted by Parliament. By raising and keeping a Standing Army within this Kingdom in time of Peace, without Consent of Parliament; and Quartering Soldiers contrary to Law. By causing several good Subjects, being Protestants, to be Disarm’d at the same time, when Papists were both Armed and Employ’d contrary to Law. By violating the Freedom of Election of Members to serve in Parliament. By Prosecutions in the Court of *Kings-Bench* for Matters and Causes cognizable only in *Parliament*; and by divers other Arbitrary and Illegal Courses. And whereas of late Years, Partial, Corrupt, and Unqualified Persons, have been return’d and serv’d on Juries in Trials, and particularly divers Jurors in Trials for High-Treason, which were not Freeholders; And Excessive Bail hath been requir’d
“of

“ of Persons committed in Criminal Cases, to e-
“ lude the benefit of the Laws made for the Li-
“ berty of the Subjects. And Excessive Fines have
“ been impos’d. And Illegal and Cruel Punish-
“ ments inflicted. And several Grants and Pro-
“ mises made of Fines and Forfeitures before any
“ Conviction or Judgment against the Persons upon
“ whom the same were to be levied. All which are
“ utterly and directly contrary to the known Laws
“ and Statutes, and Freedom of this Realm,

“ And whereas the said late King *James* the Se-
“ cond, having Abdicated the Government, and
“ the Throne being thereby vacant, his Highness
“ the Prince of *Orange* (whom it hath pleased Al-
“ mighty God to make the Glorious Instrument
“ of Delivering this Kingdom from Popery and
“ Arbitrary Power) did (by the Advice of the
“ Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and divers prin-
“ cipal Persons of the Commons) cause Letters to
“ be written to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal,
“ being Protestants, and other Letters to the sever-
“ al Counties, Cities, Universities, Burroughs, and
“ Cinque-Ports, for the Chusing of such Persons
“ to represent them, as were of Right to be sent to
“ Parliament, to Meet and Sit at *Westminster* upon
“ the 22d day of *January* in this Year 1688, in or-
“ der to such an Establishment, as that their Reli-
“ gion, Laws and Liberties, might not again be
“ in danger of being Subverted: Upon which
“ Letters, Elections having been accordingly made;
“ And thereupon the Lords Spiritual and Tempo-
“ ral, and Commons, pursuant to their respective
“ Letters, and Elections, being now Assembled in
“ a Full and Free Representative of this Nation,
“ taking into their most serious Consideration the
“ best Means for attaining the Ends aforesaid, do
“ in the first place (as their Ancestors in like Case
“ have usually done) for the Vindicating and As-
“ serting their Ancient Rights and Liberties, De-
“ clare, 1. That the pretended Power of Suspen-
“ ding Laws, or the Execution of Laws, by Re-
“ gal Authority, without Consent of Parliament,
“ is Illegal. 2. That the pretended Power of Dis-
“ pensing

1688.



“penſing with Laws, or the Execution of Laws,
 “by Regal Authority, as it hath been assumed and
 “exerciſed of late, is Illegal. 3. That the Com-
 “miſſion for erecting the late *Court of Commiſſi-*
 “*oners for Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes*, and all other Com-
 “miſſions and Courts of the like nature, are Illegal
 “and Pernicious. 4. That levying of Money for
 “or to the Uſe of the Crown, by pretence of
 “Prerogative, without Grant of Parliament, for
 “longer time, or in other manner than the ſame is
 “or ſhall be granted, is Illegal. 5. That it is the
 “Right of the Subjects to Petition the King, and
 “all Commitments and Proſecutions for ſuch Peti-
 “tioning, are illegal. 6. That the railing or
 “keeping a ſtanding Army within the Kingdom
 “in time of Peace, unleſs it be with Conſent of
 “Parliament, is againſt Law. 7. That the Sub-
 “jects which are Proteſtants may have Arms for
 “their Defence ſuitable to their Condition, and as
 “allowed by Law. 8. That Elections of Mem-
 “bers of Parliament ought to be free. 9. That
 “the Freedom of Speech, and Debates or Pro-
 “ceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeach-
 “ed or queſtion’d in any Court or Place out of
 “Parliament. 10. That Exceſſive Bail ought not
 “to be required, nor Exceſſive Fines impoſed,
 “nor cruel and unuſual Punishments inflicted.
 “11. That Jurors ought to be duly empannell’d
 “and return’d, and Jurors which paſs upon Men
 “in Trials of High-Treaſon ought to be Free-
 “holders. 12. That all Grants and Promiſes of
 “Fines and Forfeitures of particular Perſons be-
 “fore Conviction, are Illegal and Void. 13. And
 “that for Redreſs of all Grievances, and for the
 “amending, ſtrengthening and preſerving of the
 “Laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently.
 “And they do claim, demand, and inſiſt upon all
 “and ſingular the Premiſes, as their undoubted
 “Rights and Liberties; and that no Declarati-
 “ons, Judgments, Doings, or Proceedings, to
 “the prejudice of the People in any of the ſaid
 “Premiſes, ought in any wiſe to be drawn here-
 “after into Conſequence or Example. To which
 “Demand

“Demand of their Rights they are particularly
“encouraged by the Declaration of His Highness
“the Prince of *Orange*, as being the only means
“for obtaining a full Redress and Remedy there-
“in.

“Having therefore an intire Confidence, that
“his said Highness the Prince of *Orange* will per-
“fect the Deliverance so far advanced by Him,
“and will still preserve them from the violation of
“their Rights, which they have here asserted, and
“and from all other Attempts upon their Religion,
“Rights and Liberties; The Lords Spiritual and
“Temporal assembled at *Westminster* do resolve:
“That *William* and *Mary* Prince and Princesses of
“*Orange* be, and be declared, King and Queen of
“*England, France and Ireland*, and the Dominions
“thereunto belonging, to hold the Crown and
“Royal Dignity of the said Kingdoms and Domi-
“nions, to Them the said Prince and Princesses du-
“ring their Lives, and the Life of the Survivor
“of them; and that the sole and full Exercise of
“the Regal Power be only in, and executed by, the
“said Prince of *Orange*, in the Names of the said
“Prince and Princesses during their joint Lives;
“and after their Deceases, the said Crown and
“Royal Dignity of the said Kingdoms and
“Dominions to be to the Heirs of the Body
“of the said Princess; and for default of such
“Issue, to the Princess *Ann* of *Denmark*, and
“the Heirs of Her Body; and for default of
“such Issue, to the Heirs of the Body of the said
“Prince of *Orange*. And the said Lords Spiritual
“and Temporal, and Commons, do pray the said
“Prince and Princesses of *Orange* to accept the same
“accordingly. And that the Oaths hereafter men-
“tion'd be taken by all Persons of whom the Oaths
“of Allegiance and Supremacy might be required
“by Law, instead of them; and that the said
“Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy be Abroga-
“ted.

" I A. B. do sincerely promise and swear, That I
 " will be Faithful, and bear true Allegiance to Their
 " Majesties King W I L L I A M and Queen
 " M A R Y.

So help me God.

" I A. B. do swear, That I do from my Heart Ab-
 " hor, Detest, and Abjure, as Impious and Heretical,
 " this Damnable Doctrine and Position, That Princes
 " Excommunicated or Deprived by the Pope, or
 " any Authority of the See of Rome, may be De-
 " posed or Murthered by their Subjects, or any
 " other whatsoever. And I do declare, That no Fo-
 " reign Prince, Person, Prelate, State, or Potentate,
 " hath, or ought to have, any Jurisdiction, Power, Su-
 " periority, Preeminence, or Authority Ecclesiastical or
 " Spiritual, within this Realm.

So help me God.

After the Reading of this Declaration the Mar-
 quis of *Hallifax*, Speaker of the House of Lords,
 made a Tender of the Crown to their Highnesses,
 in the Name of both Houses, whereupon the Prince
 of *Orange* return'd the following Answer.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

T His is certainly the greatest proof of the Trust you
 have in Us, that can be given; which is the thing
 that makes Us value it the more; and We thank fully
 Accept what you have Offered. And as I had no other In-
 tention in coming hither, than to preserve your Religion,
 Laws and Liberties; so you may be sure, That I shall
 endeavour to support them, and shall be willing to con-
 cur in any thing that shall be for the Good of the King-
 dom, and to do all that is in My Power to Advance the
 Welfare and Glory of the Nation.

The Prince
 and Prin-
 cess of O-
 range Pro-
 claim'd
 King and
 Queen, Fe-
 bruary 13.

The Shoutings of the People in the Banqueting-
 House, upon the Conclusion of this August Cere-
 mony, were immediately ecchoed by Multitudes
 without; and the same day their Majesties being
 Solemnly Proclaim'd King and Queen of England,
 France

France and Ireland, first at Whitehall, then at Temple-Bar, and last of all before the Royal-Exchange, by the Names of WILLIAM and MARY, the whole City and the Suburbs rung with Peals of Joyful Acclamations.

Thus was accomplish'd the greatest *REVOLUTION* that ever befel this Powerful Nation; *accomplish a Revolution* which, if well consider'd in its *Circumstances*, is scarce to be parallel'd in all the Histories of other Countries, and which reads an *important Lesson* both to the Kings, and to the *People of England*. The first may learn from this Awful Event how religiously they ought to observe the Laws, maintain the Establish'd Religion, and preserve the Rights and Liberties of their Subjects; since a Derogation from these Duties cost the unfortunate King *James* no less than his Crown: And by the slow and deliberate Proceedings of the *Convention* in this arduous Juncture, Posterity may see that like Wise and Skilful Surgeons, both *Lords and Commons* were unwilling to have Recourse to *Amputation*, till they had found all other Methods unpracticable to keep the whole Body Politick from Ruin. And therefore their Example ought not to be drawn into a Precedent for breaking the *Lineal Succession*, but rather to be a Caution against all rash and precipitate Innovations in the Constitution.

FINIS.

T H E
A P P E N D I X.

*The Earl of Sunderland's Letter
in Justification of himself.*

TO comply with what you
plain some things which
fore I left *England*. I
tion of a great Noise, without I
whilst I was in it, and to my I
of it. I know I cannot justify
though it is true, that I thought
much Mischief, for when I found
I ought to have quitted the Service
excuse that I have got none of
usually engage Men in Publick
lity is the same that it ever was
much worse, even Ruin'd, than
a very Considerable one, which
have spoiled, though not so much
created it by indirect means. If
you expect: The pretence to a
being not only the first thing which
liked since the Death of the
Foundation of all the rest, I ought to begin with
that which I had so little to do with, that I never
heard it spoken of till the time of *Monmouth's* Re-
bellion, when that the King told some of the Coun-
cil, of which I was one, that he was resolved to
give Employments to *Roman Catholics*, it being fit
that all Persons should serve who could be useful,
and on whom he might depend. I think every
body

body advis'd him against it, but with little effect, as was soon seen: That Party was so well pleased with what the King had done, that they perswaded him to mention it in his Speech at the next Meeting of the Parliament, which he did, after many Debates whether it was proper or not: In all which I oppos'd it, as is known to very considerable Persons, some of which were of another Opinion; for I thought it would engage the King too far, and it did give such offence to the Parliament, that it was thought necessary to Prorogue it; after which the King fell immediately to the supporting the Dispensing Power, the most Chimerical thing that was ever thought of, and must be so till the Government here is as Absolute as in *Turkey*, all Power being included in that one. This is the Sence I ever had of it, and when I heard Lawyers defend it, I never changed my Opinion or Language; however it went on, most of the Judges being for it, and was the chief Business of the State, till it was looked on as settled. Then the Ecclesiastical Court was set up, in which there being so many Considerable Men of several kinds, I could have but a small part, and that after Lawyers had told the King it was Legal, and nothing like the High Commission Court. I can most truly say, and it is well known, that for a good while I defended *Magdalen College* purely by Care and Industry, and have hundreds of times begged of the King never to grant *Mandates*, or to change any thing in the Regular Course of Ecclesiastical Affairs, which he often thought reasonable, and then by perpetual Importunities was prevailed upon against his own Sense, which was the very Case of *Magdalen College*, as of some others.

These things which I endeavoured, though without Success, drew upon me the Anger, and Ill-will of many about the King. The next thing to be tried, was to take off the Penal Laws and Tests, so many having promised their Concurrence towards it, that his Majesty thought it Feasible; but he soon found it was not to be done by that Parliament, which made all the *Catholicks* desire it might be Dissolved,

Dissolved; which I was so much against, that they complained of me to the King, as a Man who ruin'd all his Designs by opposing the only thing could carry them on; *Liberty of Conscience* being the Foundation on which he was to build.

That was first offered at by the Lord Clifford, who by it had done the Work in the late King's time, if it had not been for his Weakness, and the Weakness of his Ministers; yet I hindered the Dissolution several Weeks, by telling the King that the Parliament in being would do every thing he could desire, but the taking off the *Penal Laws* and *Tests*, or the allowing his *Dispensing Power*, and that any other Parliament, though such a one could be had as was proposed, would probably never Repeal those Laws; and if they did, they would certainly never do any thing for the Support of the Government, whatever Exigency it might be in. At that time the King of Spain was Sick, upon which I said often to the King, That if he should die, it would be impossible for his Majesty to preserve the Peace of *Christendom*, that a War must be expected, and such a one as would chiefly concern *England*; and that if the present Parliament continued, he might be sure of all the Help and Service he could wish; but in case he Dissolved it, he must give over all thoughts of Foreign Affairs, for no other would ever assist him, but on such Terms as would Ruin the Monarchy; so that from abroad or at home, he would be destroy'd, if the Parliament were broken, and any Accident should happen, of which there were many, to make the Aid of his People necessary to him. This and much more I said to him, several times, privately, and in the hearing of others. But being over powered, the Parliament were broke, the Closetting went on, and a new one was to be chosen. Who was to get by Closetting I need not say, but it was certainly not I, nor any of my Friends; many of them suffer'd, who I would fain have saved, and yet I must confess with grief, that when the King was resolved, and there was no Remedy, I did not quit as I ought to have done, but served

served on in order to the calling another Parliament. In the midst of all the Preparations for it, and whilst the Corporations were Regulating, the King thought fit to order his Declarations to be read in all Churches, of which I most solemnly protest I never heard one Word till the King declar'd it in Council: That drew on the Petition of my Lord the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and the other Lords the Bishops, and their Prosecution, which I was so openly against, that by arguing continually to shew the Injustice and Imprudence of it, I brought the Fury of the *Roman Catholicks* upon me to such a degree, and so unanimously, that I was just sinking, and I wish I had then sunk: But whatever I did foolishly to preserve my self, I continued still to be the Object of their Hatred, and I resolved to serve the Publick as well as I could, which I am sure most of the considerable *Protestants* then at Court can testify; and so can one very Eminent Man of the Country, I would have perswaded to come into the Business, which he might have done, to have helped me to resist the Violence of those in Power. But he despaired of being able to do any good, and therefore, would not engage. Sometime after came the first News of the Prince's Designs, which were not then look'd on as they have proved, no body foreseeing the Miracles he has done by his wonderful Prudence, Conduct and Courage, for the greatest thing which has been undertaken these Thousand Years, or perhaps ever, could not be effected without Vertues hardly to be imagined till seen nearer hand. Upon the first thought of his coming I laid hold of the Opportunity to press the King to do several things which I would have had done sooner; the chief of which were to restore *Magdalen College*, and all the *Ecclesiastical Preferments*, which had been diverted from what they were intended for, to take off my Lord Bishop of *London's* Suspension, to put the Counties into the same Hands they were in sometime before, to annul the Ecclesiastical Court, and to restore intirely all the Corporations of *England*. These things were done effectually by the help of some
 about

about the King, and it was then thought I had destroyed my self by enraging again the whole *Roman Catholick* Party, to such a height as had not been seen; They dispersed Libels of me every day, told the King that I betrayed him; that I ruined him by perswading him to make such shameful Condescensions; but most of all by hindering the securing the chief of the disaffected Nobility and Gentry, which was proposed as a certain way to break all the Prince's Measures; and by advising His Majesty to call a Free Parliament, and to depend upon that, rather than upon any Foreign Assistance. It is true, I did give him those Counsels, which were called weak, to the last Moment he suffer'd me in his Service; then I was accused of holding Correspondence with the Prince, and it was every where said amongst them, That no better could be expected from a Man so related as I was to the *Bedford* and *Leicester* Families, and so allied to Duke *Hamilton*, and the Marquis of *Hatfield*. After this, Accusations of High Treason were brought against me, which, with some other Reasons relating to Affairs abroad, drew the King's Displeasure upon me, so as to turn me out of all without any Consideration, and yet I thought I escaped well, and expected nothing less than the loss of my Head, as my Lord *Middleton* can tell, and I believe none about the Court thought otherwise; Nor had it been otherwise if my Disgrace had been deferr'd a day longer, all things being prepared for it. I was put out on the 27th of *October*, the *Roman Catholicks* having been two Months working the King up to it without Intermission, besides the several Attacks they had made upon me before, and the unusual Assistance they obtain'd to do what they thought necessary for the carrying on their Affairs, of which they never had greater hope than at that time, as may be remembered by any who were then at *London*. But you desired I would say something to you of *Ireland*, which I will do in very few Words, but exactly true.

My



My Lord *Tirconel* has been so Absolute there, that I never had the Credit to make an Ensign, or to keep one in, nor to preserve some of my Friends, for which I was much concern'd, from the least Oppression and Injustice, though I endeavoured it to the utmost of my Power. But yet with Care and Diligence, being upon the Place; and he Absent, I diverted the calling a Parliament there, which was designed to alter the Acts of Settlement. Chief Justice *Nugent* and Baron *Rice* were sent over with a Draught of an Act for that purpose, furnished with all the pressing Arguments could be thought on to persuade the King; I was offer'd 40000 *l.* for my Concurrence, which I told to the King, and shewed him at the same time the Injustice of what was proposed to him, the Prejudice it would be to that Country, with so good success that he resolved not to think of it that Year, and perhaps never. This I was help'd in by some Friends, particularly my Lord *Godolphin*, who knows it to be true, and so do the Judges before named, and several others.

I cannot omit saying something of *France*, there having been so much talk of a League between the two Kings. I do protest I never knew of any, and if there were such a thing, it was carried on by other sort of Men last Summer. Indeed *French* Ships were offered to joyn with our Fleet, and they were refused; since the noise of the Prince's Design more Ships were offered, and it was agreed how they should be Commanded if ever desired. I opposed to Death the accepting of them, as well as any Assistance of Men, and can say most truly, that I was the principal means of hindering both, by the help of some Lords with whom I consulted every day, and they with me, to prevent what we thought would be of great Prejudice, if not Ruinous to the Nation; if the Report is true, of Men, Ships and Money intended lately for *England* out of *France*, it was agreed upon since I was out of Business, or without my Knowledge, if it had been otherwise, I believe no body thinks my Disgrace would have hapned. My greatest Misfor-
and



time has been to be thought the Promoter of those things I opposed and detested, whilst some I could name have been the Inventers and Contrivers of what they have had the art to lay upon others; and I was often foolishly willing to bear with what my Master would have done, though I used all possible Endeavours against it. I lie under many other Misfortunes and Afflictions extreme heavy, but I hope they have brought me to reflect upon the occasion of them, the loose, negligent, unthinking Life I have hitherto led, having been perpetually hurried away from all good Thoughts, by Pleasure, Idleness, the Vanity of the Court, or by Business. I hope, I say, that I shall overcome all Disorder my former Life had brought upon me, and that I shall spend the remaining part of it in begging of Almighty God, that he will please either to put an end to my Sufferings, or give me strength to bear them; one of which he will certainly grant to such as rely on him, which I hope I do, with the submission that becomes a good Christian. I would enlarge on this Subject, but that I fear you might think something else to be the reason of it, besides the true sense of my Faults, and that obliges me to restrain my self at present. I believe you will repent in having engaged me to give you this Account, but I cannot forbear the doing of what you desire me.

A List of such Members of the CONVENTION as were against making the Prince of Orange KING, to the Prejudice of the Princess ANNE of Denmark, now our Most Gracious QUEEN.

Berks.
LORD Norris.
 The Hon. Montague
 Bertie
 Bucking.
 Sir Ralph Verry.

Cambridge.
 Sir Levinus Benett Bar.
 Sir Robert Cotton.
 Sir Robert Sawyer.
 Cornwall.
 Sir Boucher Wry, Bar.
 A a Fran.



Fran. Robarts
Sir John St. Aubyn, Bar.
Charles Godolphin
Nich. Glyn.
John Tanner
Alexander Pendarves
James Pread
John Rashleigh
Fran. Vivian
John Specot.
Sir Jos. Tredenham
Hen. Seymour
Sir John Coriton, Bar.
John Prideaux.
 Cumberland.
Sir Christopher Musgrave,
 Bar.
 Derby.
John Coke.
 Devonshire.
Sir Edw. Seymour, Bar.
Christo. Bale.
Sir John Fowell, Bar.
Rawlin Mallack
William Cary
Henry Nortleigh.
Sir Arthur Chichester, Bar.
Edm. Walrond
Will. Hayn
Will. Coleman.
 Dorsetshire.
Tho. Strangways
John Pole
Sir Robert Nappier, Bar.
Edw. Nicholas
Rich. Fowns
Will. Okeden.
 Durham:
Will. Lampton.
Robert Byerly
George Morland:
 Gloucestershire.
Will. Cook
Tho. Master.

Sir Fra. Russel, Bar.
 Herefordshire.
Hen. Cornwal.
 Huntingtonshire.
John Bigg,
 Kent.
Sir John Banks, Bar.
Sir Roger Twisden, Bar.
Kaleb Banks
 Lancashire.
Francis Cholmondley.
Sir Edward Chisnal.
 Leicestershire.
Sir Tho. Halford, Bar.
Tho. Babington.
 Lincolnshire.
Charles Bertie
Sir John Brownlow, Bar.
 Middlesex.
Sir Charles Gerrard, Bar.
Ralph Hawtrey.
 Monmouth.
Charles Marq. of Worces-
 ter.
 Norfolk.
Sir William Cook, Bar.
Sir Nevil Catlyn
Sir John Turner
Sir Fran. Guybon.
 Northamptonshire.
Edw. Mountague
Gilbert Dolben
Sir Justinian Isham, Bar.
Richard Lord Wenman.
 Northumberland.
Will. Foster
Philip Bickerstaff
Sir Ralph Car
Roger Fenwick.
 Nottingham.
Will. Lord Eland.
 Oxon.
Sir Robert Fenkinson, Bar.
Sir Tho. Clarges
 Hen.



Hen. Bertie
Sir John Doyly, Bar.
 Rutland.
Sir Tho. Mackworth, Bar.
 Salop.
Edw. Kynaston
Andrew Newport
Sir Fran. Edwards, Bar.
Sir Edward Aston, Bar.
George Weld.
 Somerset.
Sir Rich. Hart
Sir John Knight
Edward Berkley
Sir Will. Bassett
Sir Will. Portman, Bar.
John Sandford
Sir Fran. War, Bar.
Fran. Lutterel
Nathan Palmer
Sir Edward Wyndham,
 Bar.
Will. Helyar
John Hunt
Tho. Saunders.
 Southampton.
Fran. Morley
Sir Ben. Newland
Sir Robert Holms
Rich. Earl of Ranelagh
Tho. Done
Fran. Guin
William Etrick
John Pollen
 Staffordshire.
John Gray
Rob. Burdet
John Cherwind
Sir Hen. Gough.
 Suffolk.
Sir John Cordell, Bar.
Sir John Rous, Bar.
Sir John Barker, Bar.
Tho. Glemham

Sir Hen. Johnson
William Johnson
Sir John Poley
Tho. Knyvet
Henry Pooley
Sir Rob. Davers, Bar.
Sir Tho. Harvey.
 Surrey.
John Weston
White Tichburn.
 Suffex.
Sir Will. Morley
John Alford
Charles Goring, Jun.
Will. Morley
 Warwickshire.
Sir Richard Verny
Sir Geo. Cave, Bar.
Will. Lord Digby
Will. Colemore.
 Westmorland.
Rich. Lowther
William Cheyne.
 Wiltshire:
Edward Lord Cornbury
Rob. Hyde
Richard Lewis
Peregrine Bertie
Hen. Chivers
Walter Grub
Charles Fox
Sir Edm. Warnford
John Dean
Sir John Ernle
Sir George Willoughby.
 Worcestershire.
Hen. Parker
Sir John Matthews.
 Yorkshire.
Viscount Dumblaine
Sir Jonathan Jennings
Christopher Tancred.
 Brecon.
E. Jones of Buckland.
 Denby

Denby.

Glamorgan.

Sir Rich. Middleton, Bar.

Tho. Mansell.

Edw. Brereton.

Pembroke.

Sir William Wogan.

King James's Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes.

JAMES the II. by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To the most Reverend Father in God, our Right Trusty, and Right well Belov'd Councillor *William*, Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all *England* and Metropolitan; and to our Right Trusty and Right well belov'd Chancellor *George*, Lord *Jefferies*, Lord Chancellor of *England*; and to our Right Trusty and well-Belov'd Cousin and Councillor *Lawrence*, Earl of *Rocheſter*, Lord High Treasurer of *England*; and to our Right Trusty and Right well-Belov'd Cousin and Councillor *Robert*, Earl of *Sunderland*, President of our Council, and our Principal Secretary of State; and to the Right Reverend Father in God, and our Right Trusty and well-Belov'd Councillor *Nathaniel*, Lord Bishop of *Dureſme*; and to the Right Reverend Father in God, our Right Trusty and well-Belov'd *Thomas*, Lord Bishop of *Rocheſter*; and to our Right Trusty and well-Belov'd Councillor *Sir Edward Herbert*, Lord Chief Justice of the *Pleas*, before us to be holden, Assign'd, Greeting. We do for divers good weighty and necessary Causes and Considerations, Us hereunto especially moving of our meer Motion, and certain Knowledge, by Force and Virtue of our Supream Authority and Prerogative Royal, Assign, Name and Authorize by these our Letter Patents, under the Great Seal of *England*, you the said Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Lord Chancellor of *England*. Lord President of our Council, Lord Bishop of *Dureſme*, Lord Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and our Chief Justice aforesaid, or any Three or more of you, whereof you the said Lord Chancellor to be one, from time to time, and at all times during our




our Pleasure, to Exercise, Use, Occupy, and Execute under us all manner of Jurisdiction, Privileges, and Preheminences in any wise touching, or concerning any Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions within this our Realm of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*; and to Visit, Reform, Redress, Order, Correct, and Amend all such Abuses, Offences, Contempts and Enormities whatsoever, which by the Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Laws of this Realm, can or may be lawfully Reform'd, Order'd, Redress'd, Corrected, Restrain'd or Amend-ed, to the Pleasure of the Almighty, and Encrease of Vertue, and the Conservation of the Peace and Unity of this Realm. And we do hereby give and Grant unto you, or any Three or more of you, as is aforesaid, whereof you the said Lord Chancellor to be one, thus by us Nam'd, Assign'd, Authoriz'd and Appointed, by Force of our Supream Authority and Prerogative Royal, full Power and Authority from time to time, and at all times, during our Pleasure, under us, to Exercise, Use, and Execute all the Premises according to the Tenor and Effect of these our Letters Patents, any Matter or Cause to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And we do by these Presents give full Power and Authority unto you, or to any Three or more of you, as is aforesaid, whereof you the Lord Chancellor to be one, by all lawful ways or means from time to time hereafter, during our Pleasure, to enquire of all Offences, Contempts, Transgressions, and Misdemeaners, done and committed, contrary to the Ecclesiastical Laws of this our Realm, in any County, City, Burrough, or other Place or Places, Exempt or not Exempt, within this our Realm of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, and of all and every the Offender or Offenders therein; and them and every of them, to Order, Correct, Reform and Punish by Censure of the Church. And we also do give and grant full Power and Authority unto you, or any Three or more of you, as is aforesaid, whereof you the said Chancellor to be one, in like manner as is aforesaid, from time to time, and at all times during our Pleasure, to enquire of, search out, and

call before you all and every Ecclesiastical Person or Persons, of what Degree or Dignity soever, as shall Offend in any of these Particulars before mention'd; and them and every of them to Correct and Punish for such their Misbehaviours and Misdemeanors, by suspending or depriving them from all Promotions Ecclesiastical, and from all Functions in the Church, and to inflict such other Punishments or Censures upon them, according to the Ecclesiastical Laws of this Realm. And further we do give full Power and Authority unto you, or any Three, or more of you, as is aforesaid, whereof you the said Lord Chancellor to be one, by Virtue hereof, and in like manner and form as aforesaid, to inquire, hear determine and punish all Incest, Adulteries, Fornications, Outrages, Misbehaviours and Disorders in Marriages, and all other Grievances, and Crimes or Offences which are punishable or reformatable by the Ecclesiastical Laws of this our Realm, committed or done, or hereafter to be committed or done, in any Place Exempt or not Exempt, within this our Realm, according to the Tenor of the Ecclesiastical Laws in that behalf; Granting to you, or any Three, or more of you, as is aforesaid, whereof you the Lord Chancellor to be one, full Power and Authority to Order and Award such Punishment to every such Offender, by Censures of the Church, or other Lawful ways, as is aforesaid. And further, we do give full Power and Authority to you, or any Three, or more of you, as is aforesaid, whereof you the Lord Chancellor to be one, to call before you, or any Three, or more of you; as is aforesaid, whereof you the Lord Chancellor to be one, all and every Offender, and Offenders, in any of the Premises; also and all such as by you, or any Three, or more of you, as aforesaid, whereof you the said Lord Chancellor to be one, shall seem to be suspected Persons in any of the Premises which you shall object against them; and to proceed against them, and every of them, as the Nature and Quality of the Offence, or Suspicion in that behalf shall require; and also to call all such Witnesses, or any other Person or Persons that can inform you

of

of any of the Premises, as you, or any Three, or more of you, as is aforesaid, whereof you the Lord Chancellor to be one; and them, and every of them, to Examine upon their Corporal Oaths for the better trial and opening of the Truth of the Premises, or any such part thereof. And if you, or any three or more of you, as is aforesaid, whereof you the said Lord Chancellor to be one, shall find any Person or Persons whatsoever Obstinate, or Disobedient in their Appearance before you, or any three or more of you, as is aforesaid, whereof you the said Lord Chancellor to be one, at your Calling and Commandments, or else in not obeying, or in not accomplishing your Orders, Decrees and Commandments, or in any thing touching the Premises, or any part thereof, or any other Branch or Clause contain'd in this Commission; that then you, or any three or more of you, as aforesaid, whereof you the said Lord Chancellor to be one, shall have full Power and Authority to punish the same Person or Persons so Offending, by Excommunication, Suspension, Deprivation, or other Censures Ecclesiastical: And when any Persons shall be convented or prosecuted before you as is aforesaid, for any of the Causes above express'd, at the Instance and Suit of any Person prosecuting the Offence in that behalf, that then you, or any three or more of you, as aforesaid, whereof you the said Lord Chancellor to be one, shall have full Power and Authority to Award such Costs and Expences of the Suit, as well to and against the Party as shall prefer or prosecute the said Offence, as to and against the Party, or Parties that shall be convented, according as their Causes shall require, and to you in Justice shall be thought Reasonable. And further, our Will and Pleasure is, That you assume our Well-belov'd Subject *William Bridgman*, Esq; one of the Clerks of the Council, or his sufficient Deputy or Deputies in that behalf, to be your Register, whom we do by these Presents Depute to that Effect, for the Registering all your Acts, Decrees and Proceedings, by Virtue of this our Commissions; and that in like manner, you, or any three or more of you, whereof you the said

 Lord Chancellor to be one, by your Discretions shall appoint one or more Messenger or Messengers, and other Officer or Officers necessary and convenient to attend upon you for any Service in this behalf. Our Will and express Commandment also is, That there shall be two Paper Books indented and made, the one to remain with the said Register, or his sufficient Deputy or Deputies, the other with such Persons, and in such Places, as you the said Commissioners, or any three or more of you, whereof you the said Lord Chancellor to be one, shall in your Discretion think most fit and meet; in both which Books shall be fairly entred all the Acts, Decrees, and Proceedings, made or to be made, by Virtue of this Commission. And whereas our Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, and divers Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, Colledges, Grammar-Schools, and other Ecclesiastical Incorporations have been Erected, Founded, and Endow'd by several of our Royal Progenitors, Kings and Queens of this Realm, and some others, by the Charity and Bounty of some of their Subjects, as within our Universities, as all other Parts and Places, the Ordinance, Rules, and Statutes whereof are either Embezel'd, Lost, Corrupted, or altogether Imperfected; we do therefore give full Power and Authority to you, or any Five or more of you, of whom we will you the aforenam'd Lord Chancellor to be one, to Cause and Command, in our Name, all and singular the Ordinances, Rules, and Statutes of our Universities, and all and every Cathedral, and Collegiate Churches, Colleges, Grammar-Schools, and other Ecclesiastical Incorporations, together with their several Letters Patents, and other Writings, touching or in any wise concerning the several Erections and Foundations, to be exhibited and brought before you, or any Five or more of you, as is aforesaid, whereof you the said Lord Chancellor to be one, Willing, Commanding, and Authorizing you, or any Five or more of you, as aforesaid, whereof you the said Lord Chancellor to be one, upon the exhibiting, and upon diligent and deliberate View, Search, and Examination of the said Statutes, Rules, and Ordinances;

ces, Letters Patents, and Writings, as aforesaid, the same to Correct, Amend and Alter. And also where no Statutes are Extant in all or the aforesaid Cases, to devise and set down such good Orders and Statutes, as you, or any Five or more of you, as is aforesaid, whereof you the said Lord Chancellor to be one, shall think meet and convenient to be by us confirm'd, ratified, deliver'd, and set forth for the better Order and Rule of the said Universities, Cathedrals, and Collegiate Churches, Colledges, and Grammar-Schools, Erections and Foundations, and the Possessions and Revenues of the same, as may best tend to the Honour of Almighty God, Encrease of Virtue, Learning, and Unity in the said Places, and the publick Weal and Tranquility of this our Realm. Moreover, our Will, Pleasure, and Commandment is, That our said Commissioners, and every of you, shall diligently and faithfully Execute this our Commission, and every Part and Branch thereof, in Manner and Form aforesaid, and according to the true meaning hereof, notwithstanding any Appellation, Provocation, Priviledge, or Exemption, in that behalf to be made, pretended or alledg'd by any Person or Persons, Resident or Dwelling in any Place or Places, Exempt or not Exempt, within this our Realm, any Laws, Statutes, Proclamations, or Grants, Priviledges, or Ordinances, which be, or may seem to be contrary to the Premises, notwithstanding. And for the better Credit, and more manifest Notice of your doing in Execution of this our Commission, our Pleasure and Commandment is, That to your Letters Missive, Processes, Decrees, Orders and Judgments, for or by you, or any Three or more of you, as is aforesaid, to be awarded, sent forth, had, made, decreed, given, or pronounc'd, at such certain publick Places as shall be appointed by you, or any Three or more of you, as is aforesaid, for the due Execution of this our Commission, you, or some Three or more of you, as is aforesaid, whereof you the said Lord Chancellor to be one, shall cause to be put and fix a Seal, Engraven with a *Rose and Crown*, and the Letter J. and Figure 2. before, and the Letter R after the same, with a Ring

Ring or Circumference about the same Seal, containing as followeth, *Sigillum Commissariorum Regie Majestatis ad Causas Ecclesiasticas*. Finally, we Will and Command all and singular other our Ministers and Subjects, in all and every Place and Places, Exempt or not Exempt, within our Realm of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, upon any Knowledge or Request from you, or any Three or more of you, as is aforesaid, to them or any of them given or made, to be Aiding, Helping, and Assisting unto you and to your Commandment, in and for the due executing your Precepts, Letters and other Processes requisite, in and for the due executing of this our Commission, as they and every of them Tender our Pleasure, and will Answer the contrary at their utmost Perils, &c.

A SPEECH Made by the Earl of ARRAN, to the Scotch Nobility and Gentry, Met together at the Council-Chamber in White-Hall, on the Eighth of January 1688, about an Address to His Highness the PRINCE of ORANGE, to take upon him the Government of the Kingdom of SCOTLAND.

My Lords,

I Have all the Honour and Deference for the Prince of ORANGE imaginable. I think him a Brave Prince, and that we owe him great Obligations, in Contributing so much for our Delivery from Popery. But while I pay him those Praises, I cannot Violate my Duty to my Master. I must distinguish between his Popery and his Person. I dislike the one, but have Sworn and do Owe Allegiance to the other; which makes it impossible for me to Sign away that which I cannot forbear believing is the KING my Master's Right. For his present absence from us, by being in *France*, can no more affect our Duty, than his longer absence from us in *Scotland* has done all this while.

My

My Lords,

The Prince in his Paper desires our Advice, mine is, That we should move his Highness to desire His Majesty to Return and Call a Free Parliament, for the Securing our Religion and Property, according to the known Laws of that Kingdom; which, in my humble Opinion, will at last be found the best Way to Heal all our Breaches.

A Speech made by a Member of the Convention of the States in Scotland.

WE are now called together by his Highness the Prince of Orange, to Consult and Deliberate, what Methods will be most proper to secure Our Religion, Laws and Liberties, in order to which, the first thing that will fall under our Consideration, is the settling the Sovereign Power.

I take for granted, that you are fully convinced, that King James VII. by his many Violations of the Fundamental Laws, by his endeavouring to establish a *Despotick and Arbitrary Power*, and introduce *Popery*, (though he himself had confirmed all the Laws that were Enacted in Favour of the *Protestant Religion*) has thereby subverted the *Constitution*, and (that our Miseries might have no Redress from him) has left us in a time, when we needed his Protection most. The Eyes of all Europe are upon us, and it is in our Power to make our Selves, and our Posterity, either *Happy* or *Miserable*, by making a choice either to call back the said King James, and hazard once more all that Men account Dear, to his Mercy; or to settle the Government on some other, under whom we may live Quiet and Peaceable Lives, without the perpetual Terror of being swallowed up by *Popery* and *Arbitrary Government*, which all good Men hoped were now banished, and yet behold a new *Offspring* is sprung up, which plead eagerly for both, tho' under the mistaken Names of *Duty* and *Allegiance*. It's strange that any Man can so far Degenerate, as to prefer

Wprefer *Slavery* to *Liberty*, and that they should be so much in Love with *Chains*, that when they were fairly shaken off they should run furiously to be *Fetter'd* again; as if the *Ottoman* and *French Government* were so charming in our Country, that we cannot live without it, tho' we have so lately groaned under the dismal Burden of it: And it might have been supposed that even those, who had been *Instrumental* in *Enslaving* their *Fellow Brethren*, and were grown Fat with Sucking the *Nations Blood*, would have taken another Method to reconcile themselves, than by perswading us to purchase their Safety, at so vast an Expence as the *Ruin* of more than three Parts of the Nation will necessarily amount to.

If we do but a little reflect on the *Motives* which these Men (blinded by Self-Interest) make use of to Delude the Nation into a Security that wanted very little of proving Fatal to it, and compare them with the strong Reasons, we have to dissuade us from being so imposed on, they will be found so *Weak* and *Impertinent*, that we must judge it next to *Impossibility*, to suffer our selves to be *twice Deceived*. But if the Experience of our former Miseries, so lately hanging over our Heads, (the very thoughts of renewing which, make all good Men to tremble) has not made us *Wiser*, and be not of *Efficacy* enough, to deter us from venturing another *Shipwreck*, and exposing all again to the *Discretion* of *Roman Catholics*: It's more than probable that GOD has abandoned us, and given us up to believe strong *Delusions*.

First, They will endeavour to perswade us, that Kings are exim'd from *Punishments* here on *Earth*, and nothing they do can be Quarrell'd with by their Subjects, which indeed might with some reason be urged among the *Turks*, who reserve nothing from the Power of their *Sultans*, and where it's Death to Dispute his *Commands*, tho' never so *Arbitrary* and *Tyrannical*: But with what Impudence can such *Stuff* be imposed on us, who never admit our *Kings* to the *Government*, till they Swear to Rule us according to *Law*, and no otherwise? The *Laws* are the only Security we have for our *Lives* and *Properties*, which if our *Sovereign* subvert, *Subjects* cannot be blamed,

blamed, for making use of the ordinary means to preserve them, and since that cannot be done without withdrawing Obedience from such a *Magistrate* as goes about to destroy them, such an Act cannot properly be said to punish him, because we take nothing from him to which he has a just Claim, but only shun the occasion of making our selves Miserable. The *Speculative Doctrine* of *Passive Obedience* has done too much Mischief among us, and what has befallen the King may be justly imputed to it ; for the believing that without Opposition he might *do what he pleased*, encouraged him to take such Measures as have drawn all these Misfortunes on him.

Secondly, Others are so fond as to believe, that we may be secure in calling the King back, provided they so Limit him, that it will not be in his Power to hurt us. These Men do not consider, how small a Complement this is to a Man of the King's Temper, from an *Absolute Prince*, as he was pleased to fancy himself, to content himself with the bare Title of a King ; and how insupportable the Change must be, if from being *Master of all*, he must force himself to comply with a Thousand Masters, and see his Throne become his Prison. But how airy is it to fancy, that any Restrictions of our Contrivance can bind the King ? For, It's most certain they can never be Voluntary, and what is constrained and done by Force, is by Law declared to be void and Null ; to whose Assistance the *Pope's Dispensing Power* being joyned, would quickly blow off these *Sampson Cords*, and the *Royal Power* would again revive all its Vigor and Lustre.

Thirdly, The King is of a Religion that has in a Famous Council Decreed, That no Faith is to be kept with *Hereticks*, much less with *Subjects* whom he looks upon as so many *Rebels*, and will not miss to treat them as such, whenever they give him the Opportunity of doing it ; for his greatest Admirers do no run to that height of *Idolatry*, to imagine him so much *Angel*, as not to take all methods to revenge so great an Affront, and secure himself at our Cost from such a Treatment for the Future ; the apprehensions of which Resentment will strike such Terror

~ror in Mens Minds, that nothing will be capable to divert them from offering All for an Atonement, and *Popery* and *Slavery* will be thought a good Bargain, if they can but save their Lives. Then we may lament our Miseries, but it will not be in our Power to help them; for a *Prince of Orange* is not always ready to rescue us, with such vast Expence and so great hazard to his Person; and if our Madness hurry us so far, we deserve rather his Pity than his Resentment.

Fourthly, What Arguments has the King given since he left us, to perswade us he will be more faithful in observing his Words and Oaths, than hitherto he has been? Does he not in a Letter lately Printed here, expressly say he has Ruled so, as to give no occasion of Complaint to any of his Subjects? Is not the same Letter Signed by one who Sacrificed both *Conscience* and *Honour* to *Interest*, whose pernicious and headstrond *Counsels* has posted him to his Ruin, tho' all that has been done cannot make him sensible of it? Sure the reducing *Hereticks* to the See of *Rome* is not less Meritorious than before, nor King *James VII.* by breathing the *French Air*, become less *Bigot*? It were a Dream to fancy it. For so long as the *Vatican* thunders Excommunications against all such as do not use their utmost Endeavours to extirpate *Heresie*, a *Roman Catholick* must have no Religion at all, if that be not terrible to him.

The Fourth Argument they made use of to perswade such as are and shall be chosen Members of the *Convention*, That the Peace and Happiness of the Nation cannot be otherwise secured, nor Factions or Divisions extinguished. But what Factions do you observe, but such as they themselves do foment, on purpose to disturb our Harmony? All which would immediately die, if the Government were once settled on those who deserve it best; for then, if these Fops continued still fond of *Popery* and *Tyranny* they would be Chastised as Disturbers of the Publick Peace. The Argument may very justly be retorted; for if the King return, we will burst out into a Flame, and *England*, which has already declared, will quickly be on our Top, an Enemy too Potent

Potent and too Numerous for us, tho' we were all United ; besides the Danger to which such a Procedure will expose us, we cut off all hopes of an Union with that Nation, and thereby deprive our selves of an unspeakable Advantage, which would redound to all sorts of People, and would be the only means to support an impoverish'd and sinking Nation. Neither is this the only Inconveniency, tho' it be a very great one ; for if we state our selves in opposition to *England*, by Restoring the King whom they Rejected, it is not to be doubted but he will use his utmost Endeavour to recover that Kingdom, the loss of which is so considerable. Now, seeing it were vain to suppose that the *Scots* alone were able to second his Desires, he must needs have Recourse to the *French* and *Irish*, whose Religion will procure a more intire Confidence than His Majesty can repose in any others. These therefore must be received into our Bosom ; and because *Scotland* is the most proper place for Invading *England*, it must be the Scene of all the Blood and Confusion that this melancholly Thought gives us a prospect of. And what treatment can such *Sham-Protestants* expect from these, who otherwise would have become their Friends and Allies ? And what Figure will they pretend to make when they set up for a separate Interest from all the *Confederate Protestants* in the World besides ?

The happy Success the Prince's Enterprize has met with, has made a considerable alteration in the Affairs of *Europe* ; for the great Enemy of the *Protestants*, and even of *Christianity* it self, who had propos'd nothing less to himself than an Universal *Monarchy*, whom the strictest *Leagues* and *Contracts* cannot bind, but without regard to God or Man, threatens all his *Neighbours* with utter Destruction ; by the *Scene's* being changed among us, is so far humbled, that from a *Proud* and *Insulting Enemy*, he is become a Suppliant for Peace ; well foreseeing, that if *Britain* join with those other *Princes*, whom his Insolence, Cruelty, and Avarice, has so justly Armed against him, his Ruin is *Inevitable* : So that if we have not Soul enough to enjoy this great *Blessing*, and can easily part with the *Glory* of being once more the

Arbiters,



Arbiters of Europe, let us at least have so much *Christian Love and Charity* for the *Neighbouring Nations* of our own *Perswasion*, as not to expose them to a necessary *Participation* of these *Plagues*, which our *Common Enemies* are preparing for us, and which will certainly *Terminate* in our *Destruction*.

Lastly, I beseech you to consider what *Persons* they are who would *Instil* this *Poison* in you, and you will find them of three kinds. *First*, Those who *Postponing the Common Good* of the *Nation*, are wholly acted by *Self-Interest*, considering that in a *Government* where *Justice* and *Mercy* equally *Flourish*, *Virtue* and *Merit*, not *Villany*, will be rewarded. *Secondly*, They who are ignorant of the *Nature* of *Government*, and were never at the pains to inform themselves what *Measures* the *Law* of *Nature* and *Nations* have set to *Mens* *Obedience*, but are angry at every thing that thwarts their wild *Notions*, and will admit of nothing, tho' never so *Reasonable* and *Convincing*, if their dull *Capacities* cannot reach it. The third sort are such as have been *Instrumental* in the *Enslaving* their *Country*, and, are afraid if they be called to an *Account*, they may be brought to suffer *Condign Punishment*; if such cannot succeed in their *Design*, they at least hope to be over-look'd in a *General Confusion*, so they leave nothing unessay'd that may tend to their own *Safety*; and if *Heaven* fail them, they summon *Hell* to their *Aid*; not *Love* to their *Prince*, but meer *Ambition* and *Interest* drives these *Criminals* to such *Attempts*; neither are they much to blame if they are at such pains to sow *Divisions* among us: But no *Person* of *Wit* and *Judgment*, nor any good *Man* that is truly *Protestant*, and minds the good of his *Country*, will suffer himself to be so grossly imposed on by such *Firebrands*, who would build their *Future Imaginary Greatness* on the *Ruin* of *Our Religion, Laws* and *Country*.

T H E
C O N T E N T S
O F T H E
First Part.

A.

- A**dvances towards a Peace between England and Holland, p. 40. Between the Dutch and the French, p. 92.
 Allies, angry with the Dutch, p. 108.
 Arlington (Lord) ill Success of his Negotiation with the Prince of Orange, p. 62.

B.

- Battle of Senef, p. 49. Of Mont-Cassel, p. 89.
 Of Mons or St. Dennis, p. 115.
 Bentinck, his close Attendance on the Prince of Orange during his Illness, p. 67.
 Bouchain taken by the French, p. 74.

C.

- Cambray taken by the French, p. 88.
 Charles II. King of England, grows jealous of the discontented Party, &c. p. 58. And of the Prince of

The CONTENTS of

of Orange's coming over into England, p. 65. He is tempted with Money by France, p. 106. Complaints of the States signing a separate Peace, and offers to make War against France, p. 118.
 Coeverden recover'd, p. 30.
 Condé taken by the French, p. 74.
 Congress form'd at Nimeguen, p. 71.

D.

St. Dennis, Battle there, p. 115.
 Discontented Party in England; p. 57.
 Dort, an Insurrection there, p. 20.
 Dover-Treaty, p. 16.
 Dutch War, p. 16. The Dutch encline to a separate Peace, p. 80. They accept of the Articles offer'd by France.

E.

English and French Fleets join, p. 32. And fight the Dutch, p. 33.

F.

France (King of) proposes a Truce, p. 91. His Project of a Peace, p. 104. His Letter to the States, p. 108.
 Franche-Comté seiz'd by the King of France, p. 45.
 French, their Progress in the Netherlands, p. 17. repulsed before Ardemburgh, p. 22. Leave their Conquests in Holland, p. 35, 44, 88.

G.

Ghent besieg'd and taken by the French, p. 109.

H.

Henry Frederick of Nassau, Prince of Orange, p. 7.

L.

L.

Limburgh taken by the French, p. 68.
Luxemburgh (Duke of) his unsuccessful Expedition, p. 29.

M.

Mastricht besieg'd and taken by the French, p. 32.
Matrice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, p. 6.
Mons block'd up by the French, p. 112.
Munster, the Bishop of that Place besieges Groningen without Success, p. 22, Makes Peace with the Emperor, p. 44.

N.

Naerden taken by the Prince of Orange, p. 33.
Nassau, Considerableness of that House, and Antiquity of its Name, p. 1.
Nimeguen chosen for the Place of Treaty, p. 67.

O.

St. Omer taken by the French, p. 89.
Orange, Princes of, their Pedigree, p. 2. See William.

P.

Peace betwixt England and Holland concluded, p. 42.
General Peace obstructed, p. 63. Signed between France and Holland, tho' protested against by the Allies, p. 114. Between France and Spain, and between the Emperor and France, p. 119.
Philip William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, p. 6.

S.

Scheme of a Peace agreed on between King Charles II. and the Prince of Orange, p. 99.

Senef, the Battle fought there, p. 49.

States of Holland, their Answer to the King of France's Letter, p. 108. They order their Plenipotentiaries to sign the Peace, p. 109.

Steps made by King Charles II. for the Restoration of the Prince of Orange, p. 11.

T.

Temple (Sir William) goes over Ambassador to Holland, p. 43. His Negotiation, p. 46. &c. He makes Overtures of Peace to the Prince of Orange, p. 56.

Treaty carried on at Nimeguen, p. 76, 77, 78. Between England and Holland, p. 110.

Truce of Six Weeks, p. 108.

U.

Valenciennes taken by the French, p. 88.

W.

William I. of Nassau, Prince of Orange, p. 3.

William II. of Nassau, Prince of Orange, p. 8.

William III. (Henry) Prince of Orange, and King of England, his Birth, p. 8. He is depriv'd of his Predecessors Dignities, p. 9. His noble Inclinations, ibid. His Sufferings, p. 10. His unfortunate Education, ibid. He is made Captain and Admiral General, p. 19. He repairs to the Army, p. 20. He is made Stadtholder at Dort, p. 21. And by the States General, p. 22. He besieges Woerden, without Success, p. 27. He composes the Differences in Friezland and Zealand, p. 31. He besieges and takes Naerden, p. 33. As also Bonn, p. 34. He is made Hereditary Stadtholder, p. 36. He besieges Oudenarde unsuccessfully, p. 54. Takes Grave, p. 55. He refuses the Sovereignty of Gelderland, p. 63. He falls sick of the Small-Pox, p. 69. He opens to Sir William Temple his Design of Marrying the Lady Mary, p. 72.

p. 72. *He besieges Maestricht, p. 75. Raises the Siege, p. 76. He declares against a separate Treaty, p. 82. His Project of a General Peace, p. 83. He makes a vain Attempt upon Charleroy, p. 94. He lands at Harwich, p. 95. His Match with the Lady Mary declar'd, p. 97. And consummated, p. 98. He returns to Holland, p. 101. De-Wits, their Tragical End, p. 23.*

Y.

Ypre besieg'd and taken by the French, p. 103.

The Appendix.

THE Letter of the States-General to King Charles II.

The Spanish Ambassador's Memorial to King Charles II.

His Majesties Answer to the said Memorial.

Treaty of Alliance between England and Holland.

B b 3

T H E

The CONTENTS of
THE
CONTENTS
OF THE
Second Part.

A.

Add

From

for L

95.

Carli

184.

p. 30

Affai

Of E

*ven to the prince of Orange, p. 305.**Alarm (false) throughout all England, p. 290.**Albyville (Marquis of) his Memorial to the States,**p. 203,**Argile, his Rising and Defeat in Scotland, p. 13,**14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20.**Army modell'd, p. 166. Refuses to forward the**Popish Defens, p. 185. New modell'd, p. 309.**Affizes in the West, p. 32.**Arguments against a Standing Army, p. 42.**Association at Exeter, p. 251.*

Past

B.

B.

- Bishop of London, his Character*, p. 76. *Proceedings against him*, p. 77. *King James's Letter to him*, *ibid.* *His Letter to the Earl of Sunderland*, p. 78. *He is suspended*, p. 83.
- Bishop of Chester his Speech*, p. 115, 121. *The Seven Bishops Petition the King*, p. 160. *Are summon'd before the Council*, p. 161. *Committed to the Tower*, p. 162. *Tried*, p. 166. *Set at Liberty*, p. 171. *And acquitted*, p. 182.
- Bishop of Rochester refuses to act in the Ecclesiastical Commission*, p. 185. *The Bishops Advice to the King*, p. 207.
- Bishops expostulated with about the Prince of Orange's Declaration*, p. 229.
- Bishop of Exeter made Archbishop of York*, p. 240.
- Bonrepos arrives at London*, p. 196. *His Negotiation is cross'd*, p. 197.

C.

- Camp on Hounslow-Heath*, p. 84.
- Charles II. his Death*, p. 3.
- Charters renew'd*, p. 70.
- Chetwood (Dr.) gives good Advice to King James*, p. 248. *Refuses the Bishoprick of Bristol*, p. 313. *And the Peerage of Woodhill*, p. 314.
- Churchill (Lord) goes over to the Prince of Orange*, p. 250.
- Clarendon (Earl of) made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*, p. 56. *His Speech to Tyrconnel*, p. 62.
- Closettings*, p. 38, 165.
- Coke's bold Speech*, p. 46.
- Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes*, p. 74.
- Conferences between Protestants and Papists*, p. 86, 96. *At Minden*, p. 191.
- Consultation held in the Savoy by the Papists*, p. 59. *At Lambeth by the Protestant Clergy*, p. 156.
- Convention meets*, p. 319. *Their Address of Thanks to the Prince of Orange*, p. 321.
- Cornish executed*, p. 36.

D.

- Dangerfield is try'd and sentenc'd, p. 34. And
kill'd, p. 35.
D'Avaux, (Count) his Memorial to the States, p.
199. Disown'd by King James, p. 200.
Debates about King James's Speech in Parliament,
p. 41.
Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, p. 90, and 154.
Of the Lords and Commons asserting the Rights of
the English Nation, p. 354.
Denmark, see Princess.
Differences among the Papists, p. 146, &c. About
making the Prince of Orange King or Regent, p. 315.
Dutch Guards take Possession of Whitehall, p. 296.

E.

- Effects of the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience
with the Presbyterians and the Church of Eng-
land, p. 93.
Embassie to Rome, p. 87. Coldly receiv'd, p. 88.

F.

- Fagel (Pensioner) his Letter to Mr. Stuart, p. 136.
To the Marquis of Albyville, p. 140.
Feversham (Earl of) arrested, p. 295.
French Protestants bountifully reliev'd by King James,
p. 102.
French Ambassador retires, p. 308.

G.

- George (Prince of Denmark) leaves the King,
p. 251.

H.

- Herbert (Admiral) his Letter to the Fleet, p. 233.
Hough (Dr.) depriv'd, his Protestation, p. 417. He
is expell'd, p. 123.

E

James II. *his Accession to the Throne*, p. 5. *His first Speech to the Council*, p. 6. *His Speech to the Parliament*, p. 11. *His Design of making himself Absolute, and setting up Popery*, p. 37. *Good Advice given him*, p. 38, and 248. *He casts off the Mask*, p. 39. *He makes a Speech to the Parliament in another Strain*, p. 40. *His Letter to the Scotch Parliament*, p. 48. *Character of his Ministers*, p. 68. *He sets up a Dispensing Power*, p. 70. *His Letter to the Bishops against Preachers*, p. 74. *His Speech to the Council*, p. 89. *Goes on his Progress*, p. 128. *His Answer to the Petitioning Bishops*, p. 160. *His Consternation*, p. 204. *He has Recourse to the Bishops*, *ibid.* *His Answer to the Lords*. *He goes to the Army*, p. 245. *Comes to Salisbury*, p. 249. *His Letter to the Earl of Feversham*, p. 267. *He is taken at Feversham*, p. 293. *returns to London*, p. 295. *His Order to suppress Disorders*, p. 296. *Goes to Rochester*, p. 297. *Embarks for France*, p. 300. *His Reasons for withdrawing himself from Rochester*, p. 301. *His Character*, p. 303. *His Letter to the Privy-Council*, p. 322. *And to the Lords and Commons*, p. 324.

Jefferies, *his Cruelty and Avarice*, p. 33. *He is made Lord Chancellor*, p. 34. *Vain Endeavours to supplant him*, p. 149. *He is apprehended*, p. 291. *His Character*, *ibid.*

Jesuits, *their School in the Savoy*, p. 96.

Johnson, *his Advice to the Army*, p. 84. *Sentence against him*, p. 86.

Ireland, *a View of the Affairs there*, p. 53, 312.

L.

The Lords *Petition for a Parliament*, p. 244.

Letter from the Council of Scotland, p. 89. *Threatning Letters sent to Persons of Quality by the Papists*, p. 146.

M.

M.

Magdalen College, Proceedings against it, p. 105. and Sequ.

Mayor of Scarborough toss'd in a Blanket, p. 201.

Methods us'd to obtain a complying Parliament, p. 165.

Monmouth's Rebellion, p. 21. Proceedings of the Court and Parliament against him, p. 25. He marches from Lyme to Taunton, p. 26. He is routed, p. 28. His Letter to King James, p. 29. He is beheaded, p. 31. His Character, ib.

Murray (Earl of) his Speech to the Parliament of Scotland, p. 48.

N.

Norfolk, (Duke of) his Speech to the Mayor of Norwich,

O.

Oates's Sentence and Sufferings, p. 10.

*Orange (Prince of) offers to come to King James's Assistance, p. 26. His Offer is refus'd, p. 27. His Opinion concerning the Repealing of the Test, &c. p. 135. He makes Alliances to countenance his Design upon England, p. 189. Certain News of his Design, p. 204. His Declaration, p. 221. Addition to his Declaration, p. 225. He takes leave of the States, p. 226. Puts to Sea, p. 227. Meets with a Storm, *ibid.* His Letter to the English Army, p. 232. His Composedness and Intrepidity, p. 234. He puts to Sea again, p. 235. He lands at Torbay, p. 236. Comes to Exeter, p. 240. His Speech to the Somerset Gentry, p. 241. Leaves Exeter, p. 252. His Third Declaration, dated at Sherborn, p. 258. His Answer to King James's Proposals, p. 272. His Declaration, p. 292. He comes to Windsor, p. 294. His Message to King James, p. 296. His Speech to the Commons,*

mons, p. 303. His Answer to the Lords and Commons, p. 308. His Letter to the Convention, p. 320. His Answer to the Convention's Address. He and his Princess are voted King and Queen, p. 252. The Princess arrives from Holland, p. 253. They are proclaim'd King and Queen, p. 358.
 Order to read the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience in Churches, p. 156.
 Order of the Peers, p. 294. For the Quartering of Soldiers, p. 310.
 Ormond (Duke of) recall'd from Ireland, p. 53. Leaves King James, p. 251.

P.

Papists rejoice at the Prince of Orange's meeting with a Storm, p. 228.
 Pardon (general) p. 37. 206.
 Parliament gives King James a great deal of Money, p. 12. Is surpriz'd at his Speech, p. 41. Is Prorogued, p. 47. Is dissolv'd, p. 127. Design to call another, p. 196.
 Penn (William) his Letter to Dr. Bailly, p. 114.
 Popery, Growth of it, p. 73.
 Popish Plot, p. 10.
 Popish Judges, Deputy-Lieutenants, &c. p. 126.
 Prince of Orange. See Orange.
 Prince of Wales. See Wales.
 Prince George. See George.
 Princess of Denmark retires from Court, p. 163, 255.
 Proceedings o
 gainst the U
 against Ma
 Proclamation
 land, p. 5
 Recalling it
 p. 145. Against the Prince of Orange, p. 205, and 239.
 Proposals sent by King James to the Prince of Orange, p. 272.
 Protestants turn'd out of Employment, p. 94, 201.

Q.

Queen (King James's) is said to be with Child.
Discourses about it, p. 130.

R.

Revolution, Preparations towards it, p. 188. Accomplish'd, p. 359. Reflections upon it, *ibid*.
Risings in several Counties, p. 252.
Rochester (Earl of) perseveres in the Protestant Religion, and surrenders his Place, p. 87.

S.

Scotland, Affairs in that Kingdom, p. 47, 310.
Severities against the Protestant Clergy in Ireland, p. 68.
Sharp (Dr.) Proceedings against him. His Character, p. 77. His Petition, p. 78. He is suspended, p. 83.
Sheridon, his Fall, p. 149.
Skelton his Advices to King James, p. 27, 193.
Committed to the Tower, p. 200.
Skirmish at Wincaunton, p. 250.
Sommerfet (Duke of) his Disgrace, p. 125. His Character, p. 126.
Sunderland (Earl of) his Disgrace, p. 220.

T.

Talbot (Colonel) new-models the Army, p. 55.
Made Earl of Tyrconnel, p. 56. Made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, p. 61. His Answer to the Earl of Clarendon, p. 63. Vain Endeavours to supplant him, p. 149.
Tennison (Dr.) his Piety and Charity. He founds St. Martin's School. His Conference with Pulton, a Jesuit, p. 96, &c.
Throne declar'd vacant by the Commons, p. 326. Debates about it, *ibid*. and 327, 328, 329, &c.
Treby

Treby (Sir George) his Speech to the Prince of Orange, p. 298.
Tyrconnel. See Talbot.

W.

Wales, (Titular Prince of) born, p. 164. His Birth solemniz'd, p. 186. He is named James, Francis, Edward, p. 211. Extraordinary Council held about him, p. 212. Depositions in his Favour, p. 213. Is convey'd into France, p. 265. Writs for the Meeting of a Parliament stopt, p. 266.

The Appendix.

THE Earl of Sunderland's Letter in Justification of himself.

A List of such Members of the Convention as were against making the Prince of Orange King, to the Prejudice of our present Gracious Queen A N N E.

King James's Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes.

A Speech made by the Earl of Arran to the Scotch Nobility and Gentry.

A Speech made by a Member of the Convention in Scotland.

F I N I S.

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